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ERRATA.

Page 131, l. 18, *for* the pardoned deceased son of, *read* son of the deceased pardoned.
" 134, l. 1, *for* ابره *read* ابن *and* l. 8, *read* Ism'aîl, son of Râïb.
" 135, l. 18, *for* درگهل *we may read* درکه مل *i.e.* Durgah Mall.
" 136, l. 11, from bottom, *dele* of *before* the renowned.
" 148, l. 13, from bottom, *read* الفقير حقير خانيوسف اغا ابن شيخ يوسف *i.e.* (l. 6, from bottom). "The poor, base Khân Yûsuf Âghâ, son of Shaikh Yûsuf."
" 150, l. 20, for تند كحضرت *read* بند كحضرت *i.e.* (l. 29) his Solomon-like majesty.
" 154, ll. 25, 26, 27, *for* Bohm *read* Bohar.
" 157, l. 6, *for* غاضي *read* غازي

PAPERS ON HAND.

Persian and Arabic Inscriptions from Panjab; by Paul Horn, Ph.D.
The Rock Edicts of Aśoka; by Prof. G. Bühler, LL.D., Ph.D., C.I.E.
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The Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions; by the same.
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Benares copperplate grants of Govindachandra Deva of Kanauj, dated Samvat 1162 and 1196; by the same.
Copperplate grant of Mahârâja Lakshmaṇa, dated (Gupta)-Samvat 158; by A. Führer, Ph.D.
Two copperplate grants and a stone image inscription of Govindachandra Deva of Kanauj, dated Samvat 1208, 1209, and 1210 respectively; by the same.
Gobindpur inscriptions of the Poet Gangadhara; by Prof. F. Kielhorn, Ph.D., C.I.E.
Benares copperplate inscription of Karṇadeva, Chedi year 793; by the same.
Dudhpani inscription; by the same.
Gaya inscription; by the same.
Tables for calculating Hindû dates in true local time; by Prof. H. Jacobi, Ph.D., Bonn.
Sanads; by Paul Horn, Ph. D.

No. 39

this dragon, Tathâgata left here his shadow; but, though this is a tradition of the people there is no vestige of the shadow visible."[4] Hiuen Tsiang's statement that the cave is 8 or 9 *li* to the south-west of Kauśâmbî, is erroneous, as the hill bears north-west from the fort of Kosâm. According to the popular belief of the villagers there is a Nâga inside the cave, of which everybody has heard, but which no one has seen. The serpent is believed to have his head in the Jamnâ while his tail remains in the cave, which is more than a quarter of a mile from the river. The Nâga is said to be seen once a year at the time of the Divâlî festival.[5] Not a little surprised were the people, therefore, to find that no Nâga was encountered when I entered and examined the cave during the night of the 25th March 1887.

At the back of the village a flight of about one hundred and ten steps leads up to a platform, formed of a mere mass of débris, the refuse of former quarries, on which stands a small modern Jaina temple. Close by are three small standing figures of naked Jinas cut in the rock. About 150 feet from the north-east corner of the temple rises the rock perpendicularly about 47 feet in height, in the highest scarp of which the cave is situated. Above the solid rock, in which the cavern is hewn, several large boulders of hard grey quartzite are lying, one upon another, in a sloping position. No doubt, the access to this cave from below was removed by the quarrymen, as it would seem, shortly after the eighth century A.D. In order to effect an entrance into the cave and to copy its inscription outside (Facsimile No. I), which is visible to the naked eye from below, I intended first to erect a staging from the temple below up to the cave and inscription; but finding this to be extremely dangerous on account of the locality and its surroundings, I had a wooden crib made to let down by means of strong ropes from above the cave. As, however, the neighbourhood of the cavern was infested by numerous swarms of wild bees, the cave had to be entered by night and the inscriptions to be copied by the light of a lantern, which added much to the difficulty of the undertaking.

The cave is entirely hewn in the solid rock, the marks of the chisel being apparent throughout; the left side is occupied by a stone couch and pillow, or *sej*, for the hermit's use. The roof is of very curious formation, being cut into vaulted shelves or cupboards, on each side of the centre; these shelves occupy about half of the roof, and the remainder is plain. The main entrance, a door measuring 2′ 2″ by 1′ 9″, has a stone lintel and plain pilaster of red-coloured sandstone on each side, with square holes above and below, seemingly to bar up the entrance. The lintel of the door is 10 feet from the upper edge of the precipice. To the left of the door, at a distance of 2′ 3″ are two small windows of irregular shape, one with a diameter of 1′ 5″ and the other of 1′ 7″. The thickness of this wall is only 9 inches. About 1′ 3″ above the left top corner of the entrance door, there is an inscription (Facsimile I) of eight lines, in characters of the second or first century B.C., carved on the rough surface of the natural rock. Inside, the cave measures 9 feet on the left and 8′ 6″ on the right in length, by 7′ 4″ in width and 3′ 3″ in height. The stone bed, or *sej*, is 9 feet in length, 1′ 8″ in

[4] Compare, however, Sung-Yun's account of Buddha's Shadow Cave, or the Cave of Gopâla, Beal, *l.c.*, vol. I, page cvii.

[5] Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XXI, p. 2. Sir A. Cunningham, although speaking of the cave, does not mention its rock-cut inscription.

breadth, and 1′ 2″ in height. On it are ten short pilgrims' records: five of the early Gupta period, four of the fifth or sixth, and one of the eighth century A. D. On the west wall of the cave, opposite to the entrance door, there are three inscriptions: one of the second or first century B. C. (Facsimile II) and two short records of visitors in early Gupta characters.

No. I.

On the rock outside the cave.

The inscribed surface of the rock measures 14″ by 10½″. Each letter is on an average 1·3″ long and 3·6 inches deep. With the exception of four *aksharas* in the sixth and nearly the whole of the eighth line, the record is in surprisingly perfect preservation, considering its great age and its long exposure to the vicissitudes of the weather. This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. S. J. Cockburn[6] of the Opium Department who made a (not very accurate) eye-copy of it by means of an astronomical telescope, a tentative reading of which was given by Dr. Hörnle in the *Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for March 1887, page 105. In January 1887, during a short visit to Kauśâmbî, the inscription was independently discovered by me, and I now edit it according to impressions taken from the rock.

Text.[7]

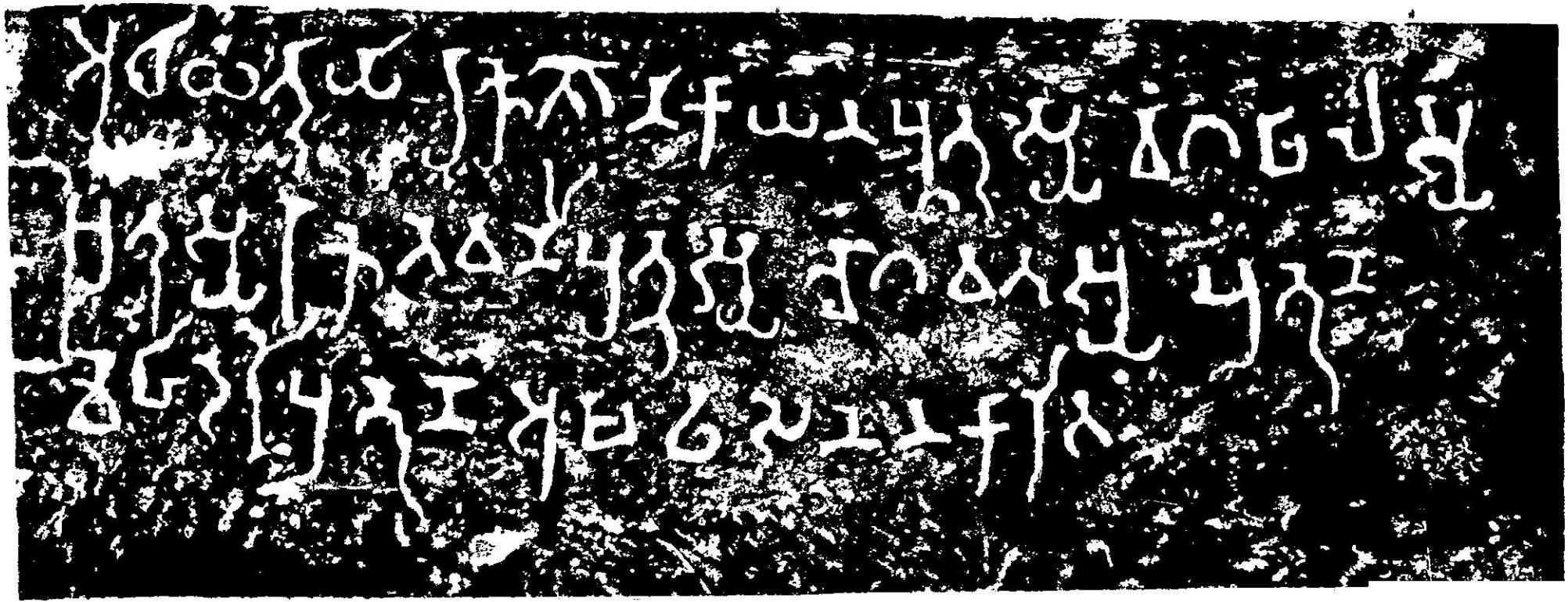
L. 1. राज्ञो गोपालीपुत्रस
2. बहसतिमित्तस
3. मातुलेन गोपालीया[8]
4. वैहिदरीपुत्रेन [आसा][9]
5. आसाढसेनेन लेनं
6. कारितं [उदाकस][10] दस-
7. मे सवछरे कश्शपीयानं अरहं-
8. [ता]नं [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

PABHOSA INSCRIPTION No. I,—ON THE ROCK OUTSIDE THE CAVE.

A. Führer, Ph. D. impress.

Scale: 3-5ths.

PABHOSA INSCRIPTION No. II,—INSIDE THE CAVE, ON WEST WALL.



A. Führer, Ph.D. impress

Scale: 1-3rd.

TEXT.[12]

L. 1. अधिछत्राया राज्ञो शोनकायनपुत्रस्य वंग[13]पालस्य

2. पुत्रस्य राज्ञो[14] तेवणीपुत्रस्य भागवतस्य पुत्रेण

3. वैहिदरीपुत्रेण आषाढसेनेन कारितं [॥]

TRANSLATION.

"Caused to be made by Âshâḍhasena, son of the Vaihidarî (*i.e. Vaihidara—princess, and*) son of king Bhâgavata, son of the Tevaṇî (*i.e. Traivarṇa-princess, and*) son of king Vaṁgapâla, son of Śonakâyana (Śaunakâyana) of Adhichhatrâ."

On account of the resemblance to the letters of the Śuṅga times, the two inscriptions may be assigned with confidence to the second or first century B.C. Of special historical value is the pedigree of the early kings of Adhichhatrâ,[15] the capital of the once mighty kingdom of Northern Pâṅchâla, here furnished to us :—

Śonakâyana
|
Vaṁgapâla married to Tevaṇî (the Traivarṇa-princess)[17]
(King of Adhichhatrâ)[16]. |
|
King Bhâgavata md. to Gopâlî, the Vaihidarî (Vaihidara-princess).
|
Gopâlî — Âshâḍhasena
|
King Bahasatimitra.

Where king Bahasatimitra ruled, and who his father was, is not stated; but we may safely conclude that he was king of Kauśâmbî, as the latter place is close to Prabhâsa, and as many of his coins [18] have been found at Kauśâmbî.

No. III.

In the modern Dharmśâlâ.

This inscription is incised on a tablet of red sandstone, and is now fixed into the wall of the modern Dharmśâlâ in the village of Pabhosâ. It records the consecration

[12] See Facsimile No. II.

[13] Possibly वेंग° or वांग°

[14] Possibly रञो.

[15] The modern Râmnagar in Rohilkhand, see Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. I, pp. 255—265, Führer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, p.p., 26—29. The same form Adhichhatrâ, and not the usual Ahikshetra, Ahikshattra, or Ahichchhattra of the *Mahâbharâta*, *Harivaṁśa*, and *Pâṇiṇi*, occurs also in several inscriptions of the first century B.C., lately excavated by me at Râmnagar.

[16] Compare the Ἀδισαδρά of Ptolemy, *Geog.* vii, 1, 53.

[17] The epithets Traivarṇa and Vaihidarî are no doubt derivatives from the names of nations or countries although not found in the Paurâṇik lists. Compare *e. g.* कैकेयी "the queen of the Kekaya-race," कौसल्या "the queen of the Kosala-family." Compare also the epithet Tevaṇika, or Traivarṇika occurring in one of the Mathurâ inscriptions, *ante*, vol. I, p. 394 and 397.

See Sir A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, Pt. I, p. 73; where the king's name is wrongly read Bahasatamitra. The Lucknow Museum Coin cabinet possesses fifteen coins of Bahasatimitra, nine of which were excavated by me at Kauśâmbî in 1887, and six at Adhichhatrâ (Râmnagar) in 1891.

of an image of the glorious Jina (Pârśvanâtha) on Friday, the 6th day of the dark fortnight of the month Mârgaśîrsha, in Saṁvat 1881, by Sâdhu[19] Śrî Hîrâlâl of Allahâbâd, on the top of the hill of Prabhâsa, outside the city of Kauśâmbî. The document is also interesting in another respect, as it clearly shows that the modern villages of Kosâm and Pabhosâ were identified already in A.D. 1824-25 by the people of the country with Kauśâmbî and Prabhâsa.

TEXT.[20]

L. 1. संवत् १८८१ मिते मार्गशीर्षशुक्लषष्ठ्यां शुक्रवास-
2. रे काष्ठासंघे माथुरगच्छे पुष्करगणे लोहाचार्यान्वये
3. भट्टारकश्रीजगत्कीर्त्तिस्तत्पट्टे भट्टारकश्रीललितकी-
4. र्त्तिजित्तदाम्नाये अग्रोतकान्वये गोयलगोत्रे प्रयागन-
5. गरवास्तव्यसाधुश्रीरायजीमल्लस्तदनुजफेरुम-
6. ल्लस्तत्पुत्रसाधुश्रीमिहरचंदस्तद्भ्रातासुमेरुचंद-
7. स्तदनुजसाधुश्रीमाणिक्यचंदस्तत्पुत्रसाधुश्रीहो-
8. रालालेन कौशांबीनगरवाह्य प्रभासपर्वतोपरि श्री-
9. पद्मप्रभजिनदीक्षाह्वानकल्याणकक्षेत्रे श्रीजिन-
10. बिंबप्रतिष्ठा कारिता अंगरेजबहादुरराज्ये सु[शु]भं [॥]

TRANSLATION.

"(This) image of the glorious Jina (Pârśvanâtha) has been consecrated under the rule of the noble English, on a site made auspicious by the consecration and invocation of the glorious Jina Padmaprabha, on the upper side of the hill of Prabhâsa, outside the town of Kauśâmbî, by Sâdhu Śrî Hîrâ Lâl, son of Sâdhu Śrî Mâṇikya Chand, younger brother of Sumeru Chand, brother of Sâdhu Śrî Mehar (*i.e.*, Mihir) Chand, son of Pheru Mall, younger brother of Sâdhu Śrî Râyajî Mall, inhabitant of the town of Prayâga (Allahâbâd), belonging to the Goyala *gotra*, the Agrotaka[21] family, and being (spiritual) client of *bhaṭṭâraka* the illustrious Lalitakîrttijit, in the line of *bhaṭṭâraka* the illustrious Jagatkîrtti, the descendant of Lohâchârya, in the Pushkara *gaṇa*, the Mathurâ *gachchha*, and the Kâshṭhâsaṁgha, on Friday, the 6th day of the dark fortnight of the month Mârgaśîrsha, in Saṁvat 1881. May it be propitious!"

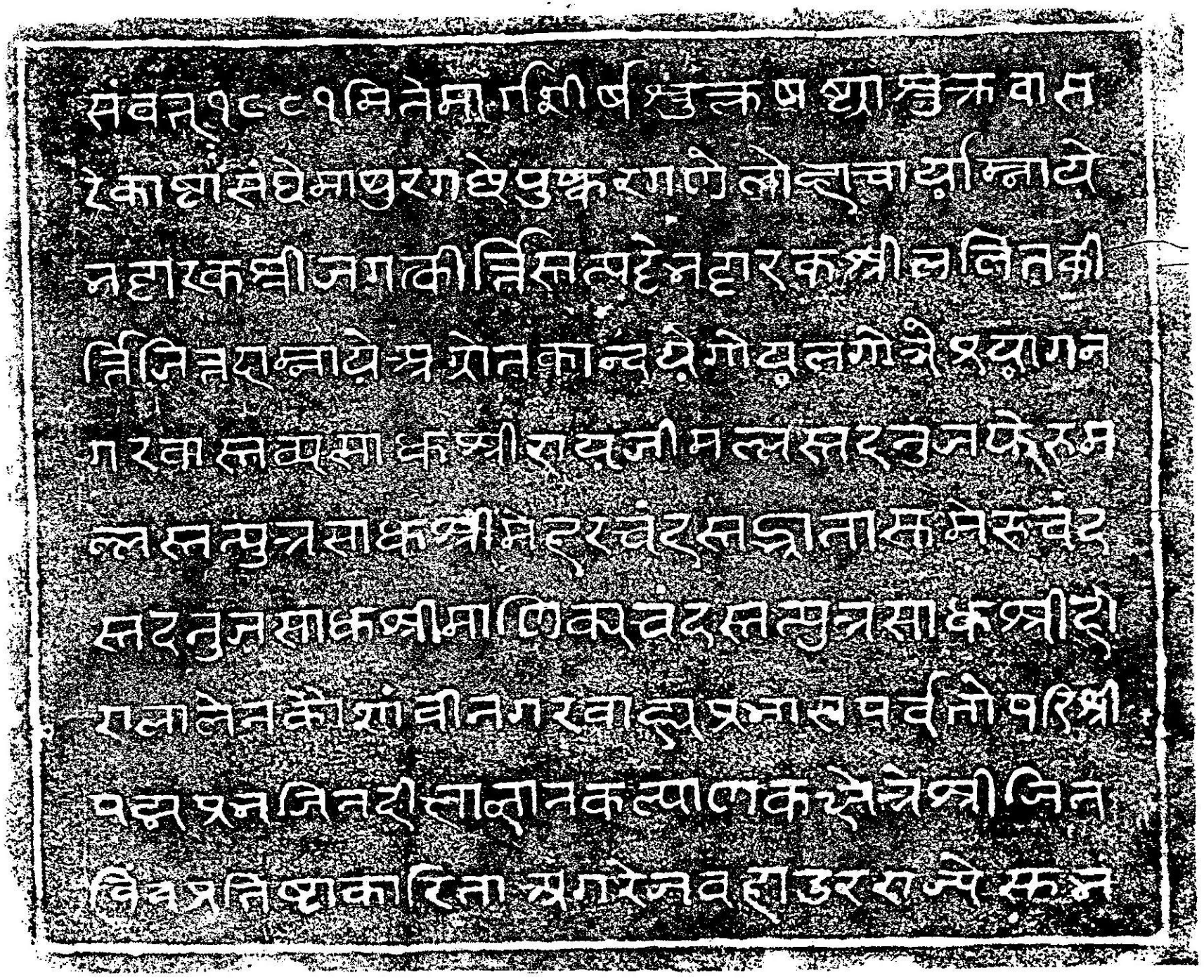
The modern Jaina temple possesses a small white marble image of Neminâtha, dated Saṁvat 1881, and a large undated copper statue of Pârśvanâtha, the setting up of which in this temple our inscription undoubtedly records.

[19] *i.e.* banker and merchant.

[20] See facsimile No. III.

[21] The modern *Agarwâlâ Baniyâs*, see *ante*, vol. I, p. 94.

PABHOSA INSCRIPTION.—IN THE WALL OF THE MODERN DHARMASALA.



XX.—THE PILLAR EDICTS OF AŚOKA.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

For the subjoined edition of the Pillar edicts of Aśoka the following materials have been used :—

I. *Dehli-Sivalik*,—(1) Dr. Fleet's facsimiles, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306ff. (2) A paper-rubbing of the second half of edict vii (the so-called circular edict), kindly supplied by Sir A. Cunningham.

II. *Dehli-Mirat*,—Dr. Fleet's facsimiles, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 122ff., and the paper-impressions, according to which the excellent facsimiles have been prepared.[1]

III. *Allahabad*,—Dr. Fleet's facsimile, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306.

IV. *Radhia* (*Lauria-Araráj*), *Mathia* (*Lauria-Navandgarh*) *and Râmpûrvâ*,—Mr. Garrick's facsimiles, published with this paper.

None of the older reproductions have been consulted, because they are of no value whatever. They have been made either according to eye-copies or according to rubbings,—not impressions—where the outlines of the letters have been afterwards marked in with pencil. The preservation of the Pillar edicts is in general so excellent that, except in the Dehli-Mirat and Allahabad versions, hardly a vowel-stroke is doubtful. For these two versions, especially for the first, a comparison of the original impressions is highly desirable. Unfortunately the originals of the Allahabad version were not accessible to me, and it is therefore not impossible that on a comparison of the squeezes some small corrections may become necessary. Such corrections will not, however, affect the interpretation in any way. Compared with the readings of other scholars, the present ones show very few differences in the Dehli-Sivalik and Allahabad versions, for which accurate facsimiles have been accessible during the last eight years.

The changes in the Radhia and Mathia texts are more numerous and, thanks to the new materials, decidedly for the better. The fragments of the Râmpûrva version have been printed once before with my German papers on the Pillar edicts in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLV, pp. 144ff, and vol. XLVI, pp. 54ff. According to the account[2] of Mr. Garrick, the Râmpûrva Pillar lies half buried in the ground. Hence only a portion of the inscription is accessible. As the Râmpûrva version agrees exactly with those of Radhia and Mathia, it is of no great importance for the interpretation of these documents. These three eastern versions have either been engraved according to the same MS., or, at least, according to three MSS. written out by the same Karkun. Their verbal discrepancies are so exceedingly slight that they cannot possibly be ascribed to different draughtsmen. The two Dehli versions are also closely allied to each other. This agreement extends in both cases also to the grouping of the words, which the present edition indicates by hyphens put between those written continuously. I believe that it is advisable to attend to this point, because evidently only those words have been placed close together, which may

[1] These impressions, which Dr. Fleet kindly presented to me, have been made over to the Oriental Institute of the Vienna University.

[2] See Cunningham's *Arch. Survey Reports*, vol. XVI, p. 110f.

be joined according to the construction. There is not a single instance in which words written continuously belong to different sentences. It would seem that the clerks connected those words, which in reading the documents they pronounced together. Hence the breaks are equivalent to signs of interpunction, commas, semi-colons and full stops, and they, as well as the combined groups, must be taken into account in the interpretation. And it follows, *e.g.*, that in the second edict the division of the group *chakhudânepi* into *cha khu dâne pi* is impossible, and again that the attempt to combine the separated words *isyâ kâlanena*, in the third edict, cannot be upheld.

As regards the translation and interpretation of the Pillar edicts, the majority of the numerous problems, which Lassen and Burnouf left behind, have been solved by Professor Kern in his *Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten*, and in his *Buddhismus und seine Geschichte in Indien*, or by M. Senart in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, tome ii, and in his articles in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. XVII and XVIII, which Mr. Grierson has translated in excellent style. Hence there was not very much remaining for me, especially as M. Senart in his latest publication has adopted my suggestion (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306) that the so-called eighth circular edict on the Dehli-Sivalik pillar is only the end of the seventh.[3] Nevertheless, I hope that my translation and notes will not be superfluous.

I differ from my predecessors, especially from M. Senart, in several essential points. First, as I hold on principle all conjectural emendations, which alter the texts of several versions, to be inadmissible, I have tried to show that in all cases, where such changes have been proposed in the Pillar edicts, the original readings admit of explanation. Secondly, I have attempted to further substantiate my view that a full explanation of Aśoka's edicts can only be given with the help of the Brahmanical literature and by a careful utilisation of the actualities of Hindu life. I have called attention to this point in the introductory remarks to my German articles on the Rock edicts, and in explaining the latter, I have shown how a certain proportion of the institutions in Aśoka's empire agrees with those prescribed by the Brahmanical *Râjanîti*, as well as, that certain other details become easily intelligible, when one consults other *Śâstras* or pays attention to still existing Indian customs. This principle of interpretation is, it seems to me, particularly important for the fourth and fifth Pillar edicts, and hence the remarks on these two pieces have become rather extensive.

Thirdly, I believe it to be certain that Piyadasi-Aśoka had not yet joined the Buddhists, when the Pillar edicts were completed. His conversion to Buddhism fell, as I shall show in a new discussion of the Sahasrâm and Rûpnâth edicts, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign. Up to the end of his twenty-seventh year the king continued to preach and otherwise to work for the spread of that general morality which all Indian religions, based on the *Jñânamârga* or Path of Knowledge, prescribe for the people at large and which is common to the Brahmans, Jainas and Buddhists. This conviction, of course, has forced me to demur against a specially Buddhistic interpretation of various words and terms.

Finally, there are some passages, *e.g.*, in the second, third, fourth and seventh edicts, where I have tried, by new divisions of the continuously written syllables or new trans-

[3] In justice to Professor Kern I must point out that he has recognised this very obvious fact quite independently, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 384.

literations of the Prakrit words into Sanskrit, to elicit a more satisfactory sense than that obtained through the older interpretations. Most philologists will have felt that the hitherto current explanations of *chakhudâne-pi-me bahuvidhe dimne, kâlanena-va-hakam mâ palibhasayisamti, nâtikâ-va-kâni nijhapayisamti*, etc., do not carry conviction, and could only be regarded as make-shifts which might be excused as long as nothing more plausible offered.

In the fifth edict I have left many names of animals unexplained. Every one of them will probably be traceable, if the medical *Saṁhitâs* and *Nighaṇṭus* are thoroughly examined, of which for the moment only a small proportion is accessible to me. A special examination of the older Buddhist and Jaina literature, which I have begun, but been unable to complete, will probably furnish the means for the further explanation of some other words, which have still to be translated conjecturally or stand in need of further elucidation. In his contributions to the *Academy* of 1891, Dr. Morris has shown that something may still be done in this way, and some of my notes will show that the Jaina literature also furnishes contributions for the Aśoka inscriptions. Eventually, and, I believe, in a not very distant future, every word and form of these precious documents will admit of as certain an interpretation as those of the ordinary classical texts.

Edict I.

Dehli-Sivalik.	*Dehli-Mirat.*	*Allahabad.*
Devânam-piye Piyadasi lâja-	. . . . .	Devânam piye Piyadasî lâjâ
bevam-âhâ [:] saḍuvîsati[4] [1]	. . . . .	bevam âhâ [:] saḍuvîsativasâbhi-
vasa abhisitena-me iyam-dham-	. . . . .	sitena me iyam dhammalipi likhâ-
malipi likhâpitâ[:] [2] hidatapâ-	. . . . .	pitâ [:] hidatapâlate dusampaṭipâd-
late dusampaṭipâdaye amnata-	. . . . .	(a)y(e) [1] amnata agâya dham-
agâyâ-dhammakâmatâyâ [3] agâ-	. . . . .	makâmatâya agâya palîkhâya
ya-palîkhâyâ agâya-susûsâyâ age-	. . . . .	agâya susûsâyâ agena bhayena
na-bhayenâ [4] agena-usâhenâ [.]	. . . . .	[age]na usâhena [.] Esa chu kho
Esa-chu-kho-mama anusathiyâ [5]	. . . . .	mama anusathiyâ [2] dhammâ-
dhammâpekhâ dhammakâmatâ-	. . . . .	pekhâ dhammakâmatâ cha suve
châ suve-suve-vaḍhitâ vaḍhîsati-	. . . . .	suve vaḍhitâ vaḍhisati chevâ [.]
chevâ-[6] Pulisâ-pi-cha-me ukasâ-	. . . . .	Pulisâ pi me ukasâ cha gevayâ
châ gevayâ-châ majhimâ-châ anu-	. . . . .	cha majhimâ cha anuvidhîyamti
vidhîyamtî [7] sampaṭipâdayam-	. . . . .	sampaṭipâdayamti cha [3] alam
ti-châ alam-chapalam-samâdapay-	. . . . .	chapalam samâdapayitave [;] heme-
itave [;] hemevâ-amta [8] mahâ-	. . . . .	va amtamahâmâtâ pi [.] Esâ hi
mâtâ-pi [.] Esâ-pi[5]-vidhi yâ-	. . . . .	vidhi yâ iyam dhammena pâlanâ
iyam-dhammena-pâlanâ dham-	. . . . nam dhammena	dhammena vidhâne dhammen[a]
mena-vidhâne [9] dhammena-	[1] vidhâne dha[m]m	sukhîyanâ dhammena guti ti chu
sukhiyanâ dhammena-gotî-ti [.]	khi[ya] . . . . . [2] [.]	[4] [.]

[4] The sign, read here *ḍu*, appears exactly in the same shape in the Sânchi inscriptions, *e.g.*, in *Pâḍukulikâ, i.e., Pâmḍukulikâ*. With the form *saḍuvîsati* compare *duve, duvâla, kuḍumala*.

[5] Possibly the stone may have *hi* instead of *pi*, which former appears to be the correct reading.

[6] I give the words *ti-chu* on the strength of Dr. Fleet's note, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIII, p. 310. The vowel sign of *ti* stands irregularly to the left of the consonant, just as in the Kâlsi version of the Rock Ed. XIII, 2 l. 12, in the last syllables of *anuvidhiyamti* and *anuvidhiyisamti*.

EDICT I.

Radhia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha [:] saḍuvîsativasâbhisitena-me iyaṁ-dhaṁmalipi [1] likhâpita [:] hidatapâlate[7] dusaṁpaṭipâdaye aṁnata-agâya-dhaṁmakâmatây[a] agâya-palîkhâya [2] agâya-susûsâya agena-bhayena agena-usâhena [.] Esa-chukho-mama - anusathiya dhaṁmapekha [3] dhaṁmakâmatâ-cha suve-suve-vaḍhitâ vaḍhisati cheva [.] Pulisâ-pi-me ukasâ-cha gevayâ-cha majhimâ-cha anuvidhîyaṁti [4] saṁpaṭipâdayaṁti-cha alaṁ-chapalaṁ samâdapayitave hemeva-aṁtamahâmâtâ-pi[.] Esâhi-vidhi yâ-iyaṁ dhaṁmena-pâlana[5] dhaṁmena-vidhâne dhaṁmena-sukhîyana dhaṁmena gotîti [6] [.]

Mathia.

Devânaṁ - piye Piyadasi - lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] saḍuvîsativasâbhisilena me iyam [1] dhaṁmalipi likhâpita [:] hidatapâlate dusaṁpaṭipâdaye aṁnata-agâya dhaṁmakâmatâya[2] agâya-palîkhâya agâya-susûsâya agena-bhayena agena-usâhena[.] Esa-chu- khomama [3] anusathiya dhaṁmâpekha dhaṁmakâmatâ-cha suve-suve-vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva [.] Pulisâ-pi-me[4] ukasâ-cha gevayâ-cha majhimâ-cha anuvidhîyaṁti saṁpaṭipâdayaṁti-cha alaṁchapalaṁ-samâdapayitave [5] hemeva-aṁtamahâmâtâ-pi[.] Esâhi-vidhi yâ iyaṁ dhaṁmena-pâlanadhaṁmena-vidhâne dhaṁmenasukhîyana [6] dhaṁmena-gotî-ti [7.]

Râmpûrvâ.

Devânâṃ in-piye Piyadasi-lajaja . hevaṁ-âha[:] sa[ḍu] . . . . . [1] dusaṁpaṭipâdaye aṁnata-agâya dhaṁmakâmatâya . . . . . [5.] . . . . . [2] Esa-chukho-mama anusathiya • dhaṁmâpekha dhaṁma . . . . . [3] gevayâ-cha majhimâ-cha anuvidhîyaṁti saṁpaṭipâdayaṁ . . . . . [4] yâ iyaṁ dhammena pâlana dhaṁmena vidhâne dhaṁmena s[u] . . . . . .

TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—" After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. Happiness in this world and in the next is difficult to gain except by the greatest love of the sacred law, the greatest circumspection, the greatest obedience, the greatest fear, the greatest energy.[8] But, through my instructions, these have, indeed, increased day by day, and will increase still more (*viz.*) the longing for the sacred law and the love of the sacred law. And my servants, the great ones, the lowly ones[9] and those of middle rank, being able to lead sinners[10] back to their duty, obey and carry out (*my orders*), likewise also the wardens of the marches.[11] Now the order (*for them*) is to protect according to the sacred law,[12] to govern according to the sacred law, to give happiness in accordance with the sacred law, to guard according to the sacred law."

[7] Burnouf's explanation of *hidata* and *pâlata*, which are found also below IV, (l. 7 (D. S.), l. 18 (D. S.), VII. 2, l. 10 as inflected forms of the adverbs in *tra*, is no doubt correct. In popular Sanskrit, too, *paratram* is used in the sense of *paralokaḥ* or *pâralaukikam*, see *Pañchatantra*, iii, p. 54, l. 17 (Bo. edition).

[8] *Circumspection, i.e*, a careful examination, whether one's actions are lawful or not; *obedience, i.e.*, towards Piyadasi's sacred law; *fear, i.e.*, of sin.

[9] *Gevayâ*, 'the lowly ones' or 'subalterns' is derived from the Sanskrit root *gep* or *glep*, which the *Dhâtupâṭha* explains by *dainye*. The corresponding Sanskrit word was, no doubt, **gepya-*glepya*, literally 'the poor' or 'wretched.'

[10] *Chapala*, literally 'fickle', means both in Pali and in Sanskrit *durvinîtâ*, 'ill-behaved', 'a sinner.'

[11] The *aṁtamahâmâtâ*, 'the wardens of the marches,' are the *antapâlâḥ* of the Sanskrit writers, see, *e.g*, *Mâlavikâgnimitra*, p. 16, l. 7 (Bo. *S. Ser*, 2nd ed.).

[12] It will be best to take *hi* here *avadhâraṇe, i.e.*, in the sense of 'indeed', 'even', which it has not rarely in Sanskrit prose.

Ed. V.

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VI.

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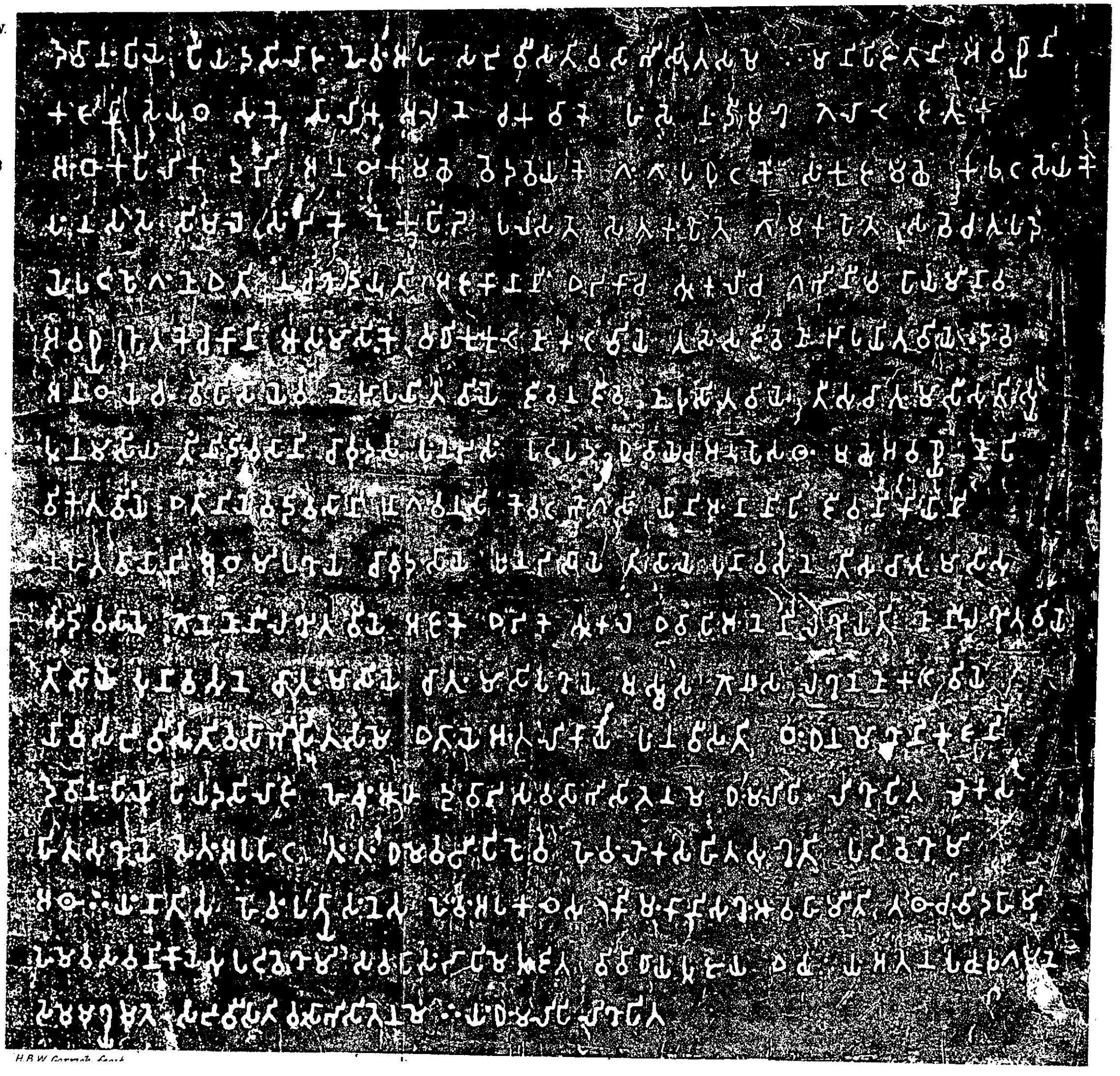
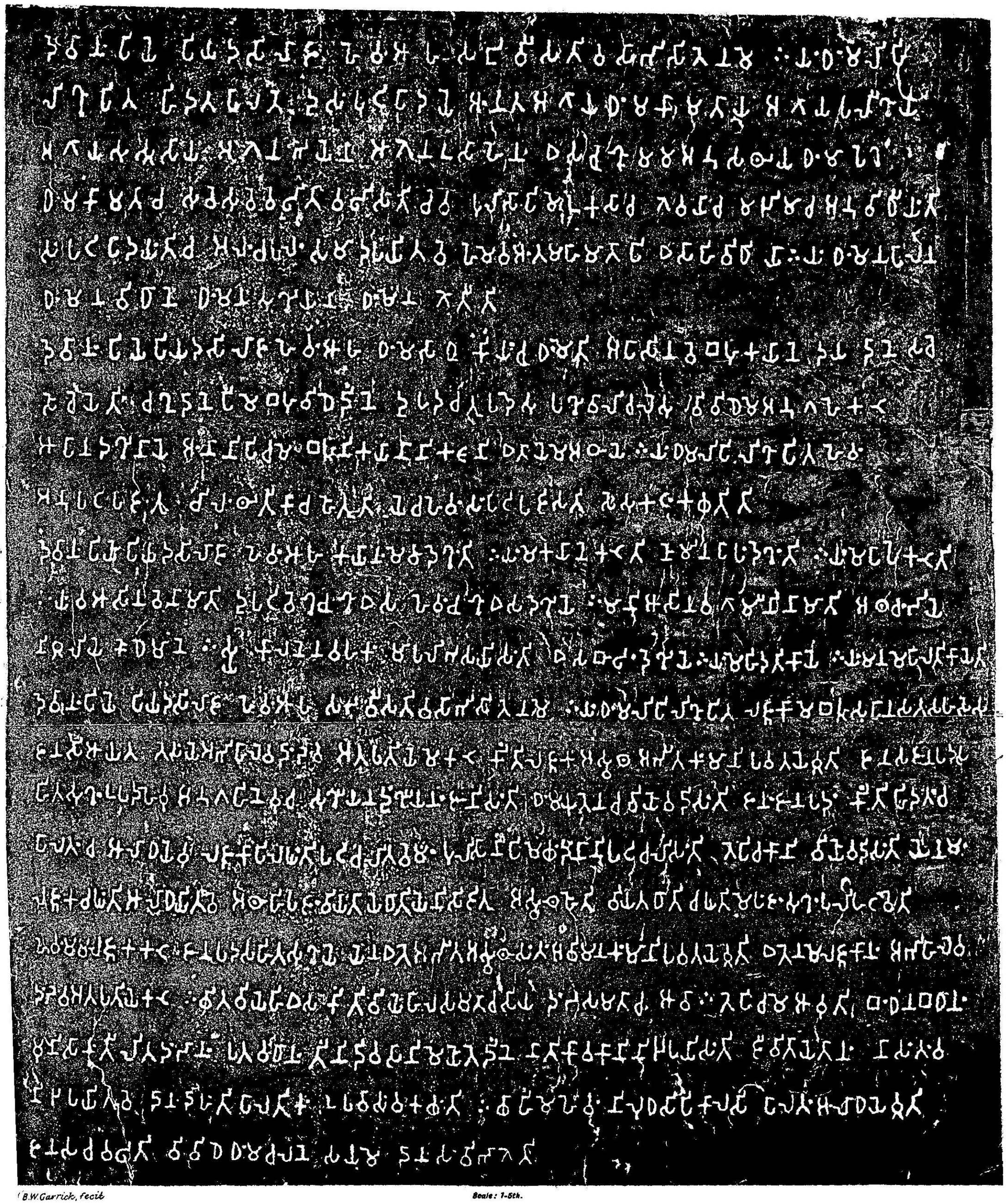


H.B.W. Garrick, fecit.

AŚOKA PILLAR INSCRIPTION AT RĀDHIA,—SOUTH SIDE.



B.W. Garrick, fecit

Scale: 1-5th.

EDICT II.

Dehli-Sivalik.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâjâ [10] hevaṁ-âhâ [:] dhaṁme-sâdhû [.] Kiyaṁ-chu-dhaṁme-ti [?] Apâsinave bahu-kayâne [11] dayâ-dâne sache-sochaye [.] Chakhudâne-pi-me bahuvidhe-diṁne dupada-[12] chatupadesu pakhivâlichalesu vividhe-me-anugahe-kaṭe â-pâna-[13] dâkhinâye aṁnâni-pi-cha-me-bahûni kayânâni-kaṭâni [.] Etâye-me [14] aṭhâye iyaṁ-dhaṁmalipi-likhâpitâ [:] hevaṁ-anupaṭipajaṁtû chilaṁ-[15] thitikâ-cha-hotû-tî-ti [.] Ye-cha-hevaṁ-saṁpaṭipajîsati se-sukaṭaṁ-kachhatî-ti [.16]

Dehli-Mirat.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâjâ-hev . . . [:] dhaṁme-sâdh [u] [13] [.] Kiyaṁ . . . . . [?3] Apâsinave bahu-kayâne dayâ dâne sache [so]-chaye [.] [Chakhudâ] naṁ-pi-me [4] bahuvidhe-diṁne dupa-dachatupadesu pakhivâlichale. [vi-vidhe-me-anu] [5] gahe-kaṭe â-pâ-nadâkhinâye aṁnâni-pi-cha-me bahû [ni . yânâni] [6] kaṭâni [.] Etâye-me-aṭhâye iyaṁ-dhaṁma-lipi-li [khâpitâ] . . [7] anupaṭipa-jaṁtû chila [ṁthi] tikâ [14] - cha-hotû-[ti] [.] Ye-cha-he . . . . . [8] sati se-sukaṭaṁ-ka [chha] tî-[ti] [.9]

Allahabad.

Devânaṁ piye Piyadasî lâjâ hevaṁ âhâ [:] dhaṁme sâdhu [:] Kiyaṁ chu dhaṁme ti [?] Apâsin-ave bahu kayâne dayâ dâne sache sochaye [.] Chakhudâne pi me [5] bahuvidhe diṁne dupada-chatupadesu [15] pakhivâlichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe â pâ-nadakhinâye [16] aṁnâni pi cha me bahuni kayânâni kaṭâni [.6] Etâye me aṭhâye iyaṁ dhaṁmalipi likhâpitâ [:] hevaṁ anupaṭipa-jaṁtu chilaṭhitîkâ cha hotû ti [.] Ye cha hevaṁ saṁpaṭipajisati se sukaṭaṁ kachhatîti [.7]

EDICT II.

Radhia.

Devânaṁ piye Piyadasi lâja hevaṁ-âha [:] dhaṁme-sâdhu [ ] Kiyaṁ-chu-dhaṁme-ti [?] Apâ-sinave bahu-kayâne daya dâne sache [7] socheye-ti [.] Chakhu-dâne-pi-me-bahuvidhe-diṁne du-padachatupadesu pakhivâlichalesu vividhe-me-anugahe-kaṭe [8] â-pâ-nadakhinâye aṁnâni-pi-cha-me bahûni-kayânâni-kaṭâni [.] Etâye-me-aṭhâye iyaṁ-dhamalipi likhâ-pita [:] hevaṁ [9] anupaṭipajaṁtu chilaṁthitîkâ-cha-hotû-ti [.] Ye-cha-hevaṁ-saṁpaṭipajisati se-su-kaṭaṁ-kachhati-ti [.10]

Mathia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha [:] dhaṁme-sâdhu [.] Kiyaṁ-chu-dhaṁme-ti [.] Apâsi-nave bahu-kayâne [8] daya dâne sache socheye-ti [.] Chakhudâne-pi-me bahuvidhe-diṁne dupada-chatupadesu pakhi- [9] vâlichalesu vividhe-me-anugahe-kaṭe â-pâ-nadakhinâye aṁnâni-pi-cha-me bahûni-kayânâni [10] kaṭâni [.] Etâye-m [e] -aṭhâye iyaṁ-dhaṁ-malipi likhâpita [:] hevaṁ-anu-paṭipajamtu chilaṁthitîkâ-cha-hotû-ti [.11] Ye-cha-hevaṁ-saṁ-paṭipajisati se-sukaṭaṁ-kachhati [.12]

Râmpûrvâ.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha [:] dhaṁme-sâdhu [.] Kiyaṁ . . . . . [6] bahuvidhe-diṁne dupadachatupadesu pakhivâlicha-lesu vivi . . . . . [7] . . . . . Etâye-me-aṭhâye iyaṁ-dhaṁma-lipi-likhâpita [:] hevaṁ a . . . . . [.8]

TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"(*To fulfill*) the law is meritorious. But what does (*the fulfilment of*) the law include? (*It includes*) sinlessness[a], many good works, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity. The gift of spiritual insight[b] I have given (*to men*) in various ways; on two-footed and four-footed beings, on birds and aquatic animals I have conferred benefits of many kinds, even the boon of life, and in other ways have I done much good. It is for this purpose that I

[13] The quantity of the second vowel of *sâdhu* is not certain.

[14] *Chilaṁ°* looks like *chilâ°*; possibly *ṭhitikâ* to be read

[15] Possibly *dupadaṁchatupadesu*. But the dot after *da* is probably accidental.

[16] *Pânadakhinâ* is the Sanskrit *prâṇadakshiṇâ*, a less commonly used variant for *abhayadakshiṇâ* 'the boon of safety.' The smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*, however, gives it in this sense.

have caused this religious edict to be written, (*viz.*) that men may thus act accordingly, and that it may endure for a long time. And he who will act thus will perform a deed of merit.

Remarks.

a. I explain *apâsinave* by *apâsravam*, used in the sense of *apâsravatvam*. It may be noted that the Jainas possess a term *aṇhaya*, which exactly corresponds to *âsinava*, and is derived, like the latter, from *âsnu* (see Weber: *Indische Studien*, vol. XVI, p. 326, note 7). Piyadasi's theory of the *âsinava*, which is more fully developed in the next edict, does not agree with the Buddhist doctrine of the threefold or fourfold *âsava*, but comes closer to that of the Jaina *aṇhaya*, which includes injury to living beings, lying, stealing, unchastity, and attachment to worldly possessions.

b. The usual interpretation of *chakhudâne* by *cha khu dâne* cannot stand, because the enclitic words *cha* and *khu* cannot begin a sentence, and because the continuousness of the syllables in the text does not permit their being taken as parts of two sentences. The metaphorical use of *chakhu*, in Sanskrit *chakshus*, 'eye,' for 'spiritual insight or knowledge,' is common with all Hindu sects. Piyadasi alludes here to the *dhammasâvanâni* and *dhammânusathini*, 'sermons on, and instruction in, the sacred law,' of which he speaks more fully below (VII, 2, l. 1); compare also *dhammadâne* (Rock Edicts XI and the note to the latter passage).

Edict III.

Dehli-Sivalik.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja-hevaṁ-ahâ[:] kayânaṁm-eva-dekhati[:] iyaṁ-me[17] kayâne-kaṭe-ti[.] No-mina-pâpaṁ-dekhati [:] iyaṁ-me-pâpe-kaṭe-ti iyaṁ-vâ-âsinave[18] nâmâ-ti[.] Dupaṭivekhe-chu-kho-esâ[.] Hevaṁ-chu-kho-esa-dekhiye[:] imâni[19] âsinavagâmîni-nâma atha-chaṁḍiye niṭhûliye kodhe mâne isyâ [20] kâlanena-va-hakaṁ mâ-pali-bhasayisaṁ[.] Esa-bâḍha-dekhiye[:] iyaṁ-me[21] hidatikâye iyaṁ-mana-me pâlatikâye [.21]

Dehli-Mirat.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâjâ-hevaṁ-âhâ[:] kayânaṁm va-d[ekha].(:) . . m.[10] kayâne-kaṭe-ti[.] No minâ-pâpaṁ-dekhati[:] [i]yaṁ-me-pâpaṁ-ka[ṭe-ti iyaṁ v.][11] âsinave-nâ[mâ]-ti [.][17] Dupaṭivekhe-chu-kho-esâ [.] Hevaṁ-chu . . [sâ d]ekhiye :12] [i]mâni-âsinavag[âmîni]-nâma atha[18] chaṁḍiye niṭhû-liye-kodhe[13] mâne isyâ kâlane-na-v[a][19] hakaṁ-mâ-palibha[sa]-yisa [.]. . bâḍhaṁ[14] dekhiye[:] iyaṁ . e [hidati]kâye iyaṁ-me-pâlatikâye [.15]

Allahabad.

Devânaṁ piye Piyadasî lâjâ hevaṁ âhâ[:] kayânam-eva dekhati(:) iyaṁ me kayâne kaṭe ti [.] No mina pâpakaṁ dekhati[:] iyaṁ me pâpake kaṭe ti iyaṁ vâ âsinave nâmâ ti[8] . . . . .
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Radhia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] kayânaṁm-eva-dekhaṁti[:] iyaṁ-me-kayâne-kaṭe-ti [.] No-mina-pâpaṁ-dekhaṁti[:] iyaṁ-me-pâpe-kaṭe-ti[11] iyaṁ-va-âsinave-nâmâ-ti[.] Dupaṭive-khe-chu-kho-esa[.] Hevaṁ-chu-kho-esa-dekhiye[:] imâni-âsinava-

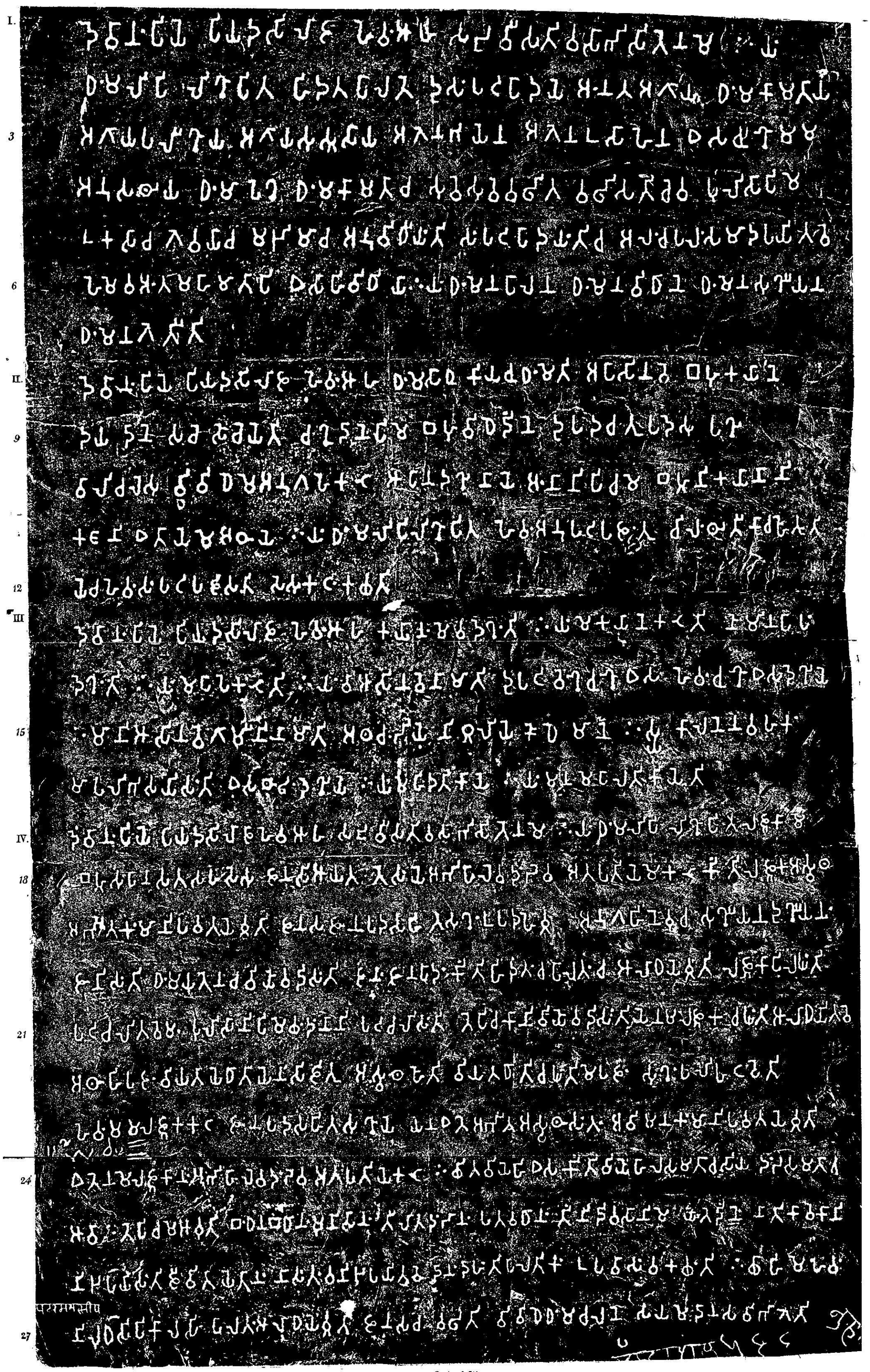
Mathia.

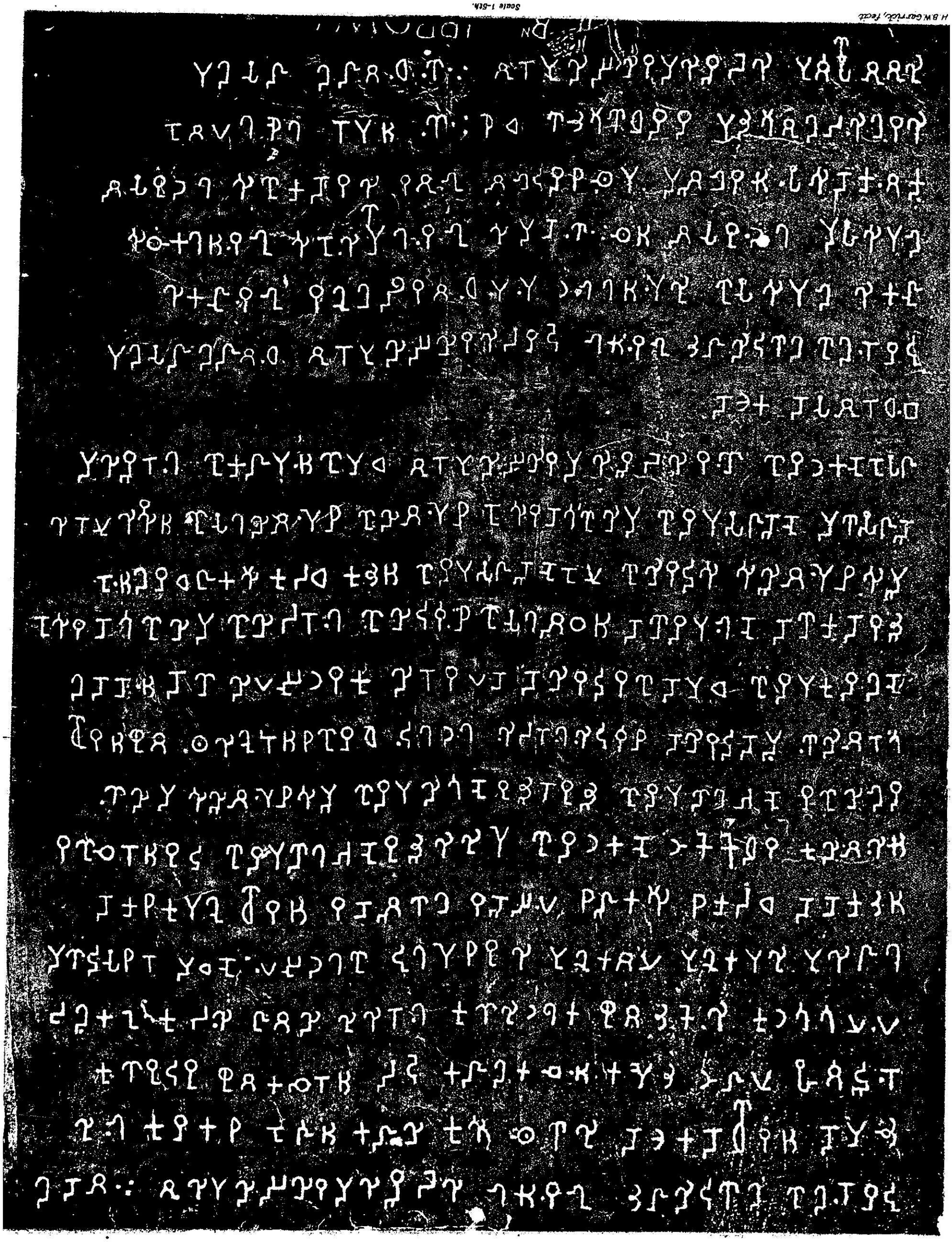
Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] kayânaṁm-eva-dekhaṁti[:]iyaṁ-me-kayâne-kaṭe-ti[.] No-mina-pâpaṁ [13]d [e]khaṁti-[:] iyaṁ-me-pâpe-kaṭe-ti iyaṁ-va-âsinave-nâmâ-ti[.] Dupaṭivekhe-chu-kho-esa[.] Hevaṁ-chu-kho-esa-dekhiye[:14] imâni-âsinave-

Râmpûrvâ.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] kayânaṁm-e . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . .[9] iyaṁ-va-âsinave-nâ-mâ-ti[.] Dupaṭivekhe-chu-kho-esa[.] He-[v.] . . . . . .
. . . . . .

[17] Possibly *nâma-ti* is to be read.
[18] The apparent vowel-stroke to the left of *atha* is probably an accidental scratch.
[19] Possible *vâ* is to be read.





H. B. W. Garrick, fecit. Scale 1-5th.

ASOKA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF LAURIYA NAVANDGARH OR MATHIA (Ed. V. AND VI.)

EDICT III—*contd.*

Radhia.	*Mathia*	*Râmpûrvâ.*
gâmîni-nâmâ-ti atha-chaṁḍiye [12] niṭhûliye kodhe-mâne isya kâlanena-va-hakaṁ mâ-palibhasayisaṁ-ti[.] Esa-bâḍhaṁ-dekhiye [:] iyaṁ-me-hidatikâye iyaṁ-mana-me pâlatikâye-ti[13]	gâmîni[20]-nâmâ-ti atha-cha[ṁ]-ḍiye niṭhûliye kodhe mâne isya kâlanena-va-hakaṁ[15] mâ-palibhasayisaṁ-ti[.] Esa bâḍhaṁ-dekhiye [:] iyaṁ-me-hidatikâye iyaṁ-mana-me-pâlatikâye-ti[.15]	. . . [10] kodhe mâne isya kâlanena-va-hakaṁ mâ-palibhasayi. . . . . [11]

TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"Man only sees his good deeds, (*and says unto himself*) 'This good deed I have done.' But he sees in no wise[21] his evil deeds (*and does not say unto himself*) 'This evil deed I have done; this is what is called sin.' But difficult indeed is this self-examination. Nevertheless man ought to pay regard to the following (*and say unto himself*): 'Such (*passions*) as rage, cruelty, anger, pride, jealousy (*are those*) called sinful; even through these I shall bring about my fall.'[22] But man ought to mark most the following (*and say unto himself*): 'This conduces to my welfare in this world, that at least to my welfare in the next world."

EDICT IV.

Dehli-Sivalik.	*Dehli-Mirat.*	*Allahabad.*
Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja-hevaṁ-âhâ[:] saḍuvîsativasa-[1] abhisitena-me iyaṁ-dhaṁmalipi-likhâpitâ[.] Lajûkâ-me[2] ba-hûsu-pânasatasahasesu janasi-âyatâ tesaṁ-ye-abhihâle-vâ[3] daṁḍe-vâ atapatiye-me-kaṭe[;] kiṁ-ti-[?] lajûkâ asvatha abhîtâ [4] kaṁmâni-pavatayevû janasa-jânapadasâ hitasukhaṁ-upadah-evû[5] anugahinevu-châ[.] Su-khîyana dukhîyanam-jânisaṁti dhaṁmayutena-cha[6] viyova-disaṁti janaṁ-jânapadaṁ[;] kiṁ-ti-[?] hidataṁ-cha pâlataṁ-cha [7] âlâdhayevû-ti[.] Lajûkâ-pi-laghaṁti paṭichaliṭave-maṁ[;] pulisâni-pi-me[8] chhaṁdaṁnâni-paṭichalisaṁti te-pi-cha-kâni-vi-yovadisaṁti yena-maṁ-lajûkâ [9] chaghaṁti-âlâdhayitave[.] Athâ-hi-pajaṁ viyatâye-dhâtiye	. . . . . [lajû-kâ] chaghaṁti-[â]lâ[dhayi-tave] [.2] . . . . . tu asva[ṭhe-ho]	. . . . .

[20] The *e*-stroke of *âsinavegâmîni* is too distinct in the new facsimile to be considered as accidental. But it is probably only due to a mistake of the mason.

[21] *Mina, minâ* (D. M.) and *mana* represent in my opinion the Sanskrit *manâk*, Pali *manâ*. *Na manâk* or *no manâk* 'not in the least, in no wise,' which fits here excellently, is very common in Sanskrit.

[22] Or 'may I not cause my fall through them.' The Sanskrit translation of the phrase is [*teshâṁ*] *kâraṇenaivâhaṁ mâ paribhraṁśayishyâmi*, and *mâ* may be taken in this case to stand for *mâṁ*, or as the negative particle. M. Senart's attempt to connect *isyâ-kâlanena* is barred by the fact that all versions have breaks between the two words.

EDICT IV—*contd.*

Dehli-Sivalik.

nisijitu[10] asvathe-hoti[:] Viyata-dhâti chaghati-me-pajaṁ sukhaṁ-palihaṭave[,11] hevaṁ-mamâ-lajûkâ-kaṭâ jânapadasa-hitasukhâye[;] yena-ete-abhîtâ [12] asvatha-saṁtaṁ avimanâ-kaṁmâni-pavatayevû-ti[.] Etena-me-lajûkânaṁ[13] abhîhâle-va-daṁḍe-vâ atapatiye-kaṭe[.] Ichhitaviye-hi-esâ-[;]kiṁ-ti[?14] viyohâlasamatâ-cha-siya daṁḍasamatâ-châ[.] Ava-ite-pi-cha-me-âvuti[:15] baṁdhanabadhânaṁ-munisânaṁ tîlîtadaṁḍânaṁ patavadhânaṁ tiṁni-divasâni-me [16] yote-diṁne[.] Nâtikâ-vakâni nijhapayisaṁti jîvitâye-tânaṁ[17] nâsaṁtaṁ-vâ-nijhapayitâ dânaṁ-dâhaṁti-pâlatikaṁ upavâsaṁ-va-kachhaṁti[.18] Ichhâ-hi-me[:] hevaṁ-niludhasi-pi-kâlasi pâlataṁ-âlâdhayevû-ti janasa-cha[19] vaḍhati-vividhe-dhaṁmachalane saṁyame dânasa-vibhâge-ti[.20]

Dehli-Mirat.

ti [:3] [viya]. . . . . li[ha] ṭave[,] h[e]vaṁ-mamâ[4] lajûk[â] . . . . . ye[;] yena-ete-abhîtâ[5] asvatha-saṁ . . . . . [pa]vatayevû-ti[.] Etena-me [6] . . [j]ûkânaṁ . . . . . atapatiye-[kaṭe] [.7] Ichhitavi . . . . . hâlasamatâ-ch[a]-siyâ [23] [8] daṁḍasa[ma] . . . . . [me]-âvuti[:] baṁdhanaba[dhâ]naṁ[9] munisâna[ṁ] . . . . . vadhânaṁ tiṁni-divasâni-[m]e[10] yote diṁne[.] . . . payisaṁ[t]i jîvitâye-tânaṁ [11] nâsaṁtaṁ-vâ-ni . . . . . ti pâlatikaṁ[12] u[pa] vâsaṁ-vâ-ka- . . . . . hevaṁ-niludhasi-pi-[k]âlasi[13] [p]âlataṁ-âlâdhay . . . . vaḍhati vividhe-dhaṁmachalane saṁyame dâ[na] . . . . . [15]

Allahabad.

. . . . . hâlasamatâ châ siyâ daṁḍasamatâ cha[.] Ava [24] ite pi cha me âvuti[:] baṁdhanabadhânaṁ munisânaṁ tîlîtadaṁḍânaṁ patavadhânaṁ tiṁni divasâni yote diṁne[:17] . . . va kâni nijhapayisaṁti jîvitâye tânaṁ nâsaṁtaṁ vâ nijhapayitâ dânaṁ dâhaṁti pâlatikaṁ upavâsaṁ vâ kachhaṁti[.18] . . . me[:] hevaṁ niludhasi pi kâlasi pâlataṁ âlâdhayevu janasa cha vaḍhati vividhe dhaṁmachalane sayame dânasavibhâge [.19]

Radhia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] saḍuvîsativasâbhisitena-me iyaṁ-dhaṁmalipi-likhâpita[.] Lajûkâ-me-bahûsu-pânasatasahasesu[14] janasi-âyata tesaṁ-ye-abhihâle-va-daṁḍe-va atapatiye-me-kaṭe[;] kiṁ-ti-[.?] lajûka-asvatha abhîta kaṁmâni pavatayevû-ti janasa-jânapadasa [15] hitasukhaṁ-upadahevu anugahinevu-cha[.] Sukhîyanadukhîyanaṁ jânisaṁti dhaṁmayutena-cha-viyovadisaṁti janaṁ-jânapadaṁ[;] kiṁ-ti-[?] hidataṁ-cha[16] pâlataṁ-cha âlâdhayevu[.] Lajûkâ-pi-laghaṁti-paṭichalitave-maṁ[;] pulisâni-pi me-chhaṁdaṁnâni paṭichalisaṁti[;] te-pi-cha-kâni viyovadisaṁti yena-maṁ[17] lajûka-chaghaṁti-âlâdhayitave[.] Athâ-hi-pajaṁ-viyatâye-dhâtiye-nisiji-

Mathia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] saḍuvîsativas[â]-bhisitena-me iyaṁ-dhaṁmalipi-likhâpita[.] Lajûkâ-me[17] bahûsu-pânasatasahasesu janasi-âyata tesaṁ-ye-abhihâle-va-daṁḍe-va atapatiye-me-kaṭe[;] kiṁ-ti-[?] lajûka-asvatha [18] abhîta-kaṁmâni-pavatayevû-ti janasa-jânapadasa-hitasukhaṁ—upadahevû anugahinevu-cha[.] Sukhîyanadukhîyanaṁ[19] jânisaṁti dhaṁmayutena-cha-viyovadisaṁti janaṁ-jânapadaṁ[;] kiṁ-ti-[?] hidataṁ-cha pâlataṁ-cha âlâdhayevû-ti[.] Lajûkâ-pi-laghaṁti[20] paṭichalitave-maṁ [;] pulisâni-pi-me chhaṁdaṁnâni paṭichalisaṁti[;] te-pi-cha-kâni-viyovadisaṁti-yena-maṁ-lajûka chaghaṁti âlâdhayitave[.21] Athâ-hi-pajaṁ viyatâye-dhâtiye-

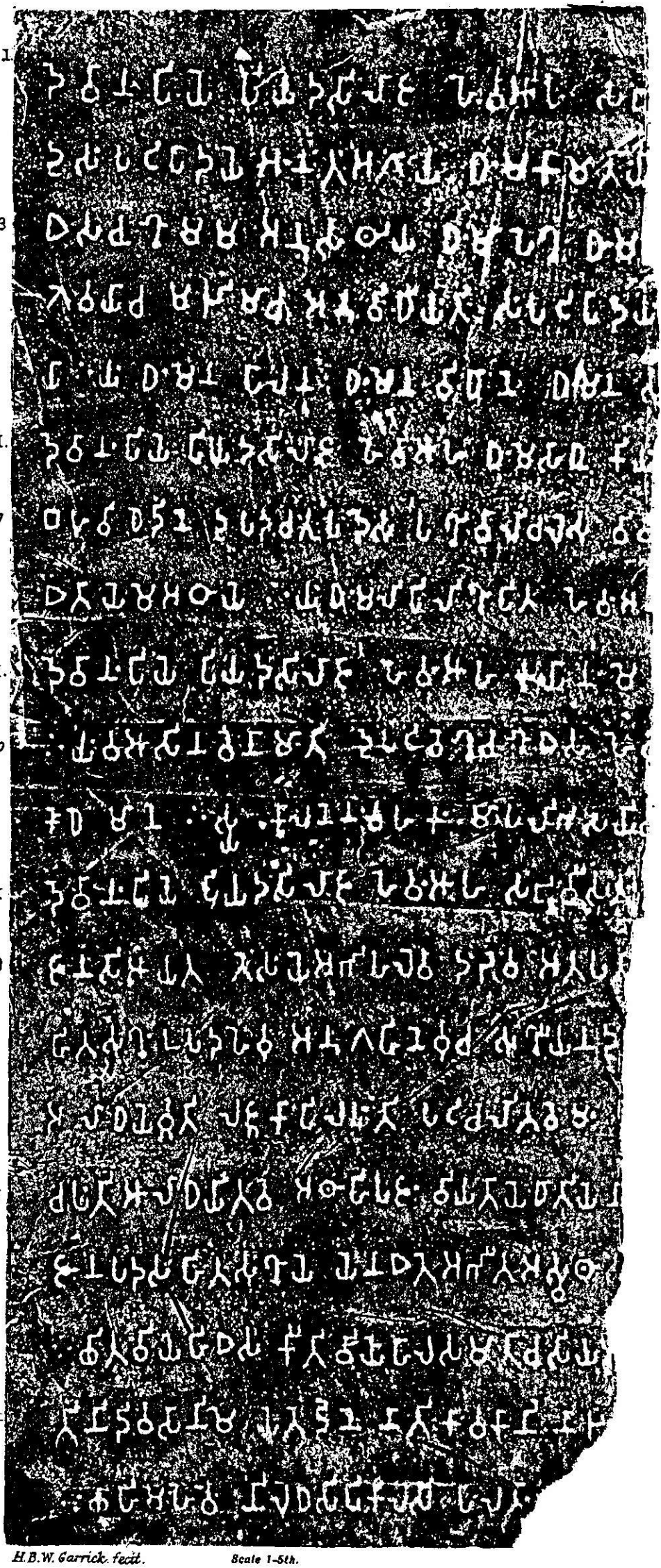
Râmpûrvâ.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] saḍuvîsati . . . . . [12] janasi-âyata tesaṁ-ye-abhihale-va daṁḍe-va atapati . . . . . [13] hitasukhaṁ-upadahevu anugahinevu-cha[.] Sukhîyanadu . . . . . [14] âlâdhayevû-ti[.] Lajûkâ-pi-laghaṁti paṭichalitave-maṁ . . . . . .[15] chaghaṁti âlâdhayitave[.] Athâ-hi-pajaṁ viyatâye-dhâtiye-

[23] Possibly *châ-siyâ* is to be read.

[24] Possibly *âva-ite* is to be read.

PORTION OF AŚOKA PILLAR INSCRIPTION AT RAMPURWA.



H.B.W. Garrick. fecit. Scale 1-5th.

EDICT IV—*contd.*

Radhia.	*Mathia.*	*Râmpûrvâ.*
tu asvathe-hoti[;] viyata-dhâti-chaghati-me-pajaṁ-sukhaṁ-pali-haṭave-ti[,18] hevaṁ-mama-lajûka-kaṭa[25] jânapadasa-hitasu-khâye[;] yena-ete-abhîta-asvathâ-saṁtaṁ-avimana-kaṁmâni-pava-tayevû-ti[.] Etena-me-lajûkânaṁ abhihâle-va[19] daṁḍe-va-atapatiye-kaṭe[.] Ichhitaviye-hi-esâ[;] kiṁ-ti[?] viyohâlasamatâ-cha-siya daṁḍasamatâ-cha[.] Âvâ ite-pi-cha-me âvuti[:] baṁ-dhanabadhânaṁ[20] munisâ-naṁ-tîlitadaṁḍânaṁ patavadhâ-naṁ tiṁni-divasâni-me-yote-diṁne[;] Nâtikâ-va-kâni-nijha-payisaṁti jîvitâye-tânaṁ nâsaṁ-taṁ-va[21] nijhapayitave dânaṁ-dâhaṁti-pâlatikaṁ upavâsaṁ-va-kachhaṁti[.] Ichhâ-hi-me[:] hevaṁ-niludhasi-pi-kâlasi pâlat-aṁ-âlâdhayevû-ti[22] janasa-cha-vaḍhati vividhe-dhaṁmachalane sayame dânasaṁvibhâge-ti[23]	nisijitu asvathe-hoti[;] viyata-dhâti-chaghati-me-pajaṁ su-khaṁ-palihaṭave-ti[,22] hevaṁ-mama-lajûka-kaṭa jânapadasa-hitasukhâye[;] y[e]na-ete-abhîta-asvathâ-saṁtaṁ avimana-kaṁ-mâni-pavatayevû-ti[.23] Etena-me-lajûkânaṁ-abhihâle-va-daṁ-ḍe-va atapatiye-kaṭe[.] Ichhita-viye-hi-esa[;] kiṁ-ti[?]-viyohâla-samatâ-cha-siya daṁḍasamatâ-cha[.24] Âvâ-ite-pi-cha-me-âvu-ti[:] baṁdhanabadhânaṁ-mu-nisâna[ṁ]tîlitadaṁḍânaṁ patava-dhânaṁ tiṁni-divasâni-me yote-diṁne[.] Nâtikâ-va-kâni[25] ni-jhapayisaṁti jîvitâye-tânaṁ nâsaṁtaṁ-va-nijhapayitave dân-aṁ-dâhaṁti-pâlatikaṁ upavâsaṁ-va-kachhaṁti[.] Ichhâ-hi-me[:] hevaṁ[26] niludhasi-pi-kâlasi pâ-lataṁ-âlâdhayevû-ti janasa-cha vaḍhati vividhe-dhaṁmachalane sayame dânasavibhâge-ti[27]	ni . . . . . [16] jânapadasa-hitasukhâye yena-ete-abhîta-asvathâ . . . . . [17] Ichhitaviye-hi-esa[;] kî-ti[?] vi-yohâlasamatâ-cha-siya . . . . . [18] tiṁni-divasâni-me y[o]te-diṁne[.] Nâ-tikâ-va-kâni nijha- . . . . . [19] Ichhâ-hi-me-hevaṁ niludhasi-pi-kâlasi pâlataṁ . . . . . [20]

TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. My *Lajûkas*[a] are established (*as rulers*) among the people, among many hundred thousand souls; I have made them independent in (*awarding*) both honours and punishments[b]—Why? In order that the *Lajûkas* may do their work tranquilly and fearlessly, that they may give welfare and happiness to the people of the provinces and may confer benefits (*on them*). They will know what gives happiness and what inflicts pain, and they will exhort the provincials in accordance with the principles of the sacred law,[c]—How?—That they may gain for themselves happiness in this world and in the next. But the *Lajûkas* are eager to serve me[d]. My (*other*) servants also, who know my will, will serve (*me*), and they, too will exhort some (*men*), in order that the *Lajûkas* may strive to gain my favour.[e] For, as (*a man*) feels tranquil after making over his child to a clever nurse,—saying unto himself, 'The clever nurse strives to bring up my child well,'—even so I have acted with my *Lajûkas* for the welfare and happiness of the provincials, intending that, being fearless and feeling tranquil, they may do their work without perplexity. For this reason I have made the *Lajûkas* independent in (*awarding*) both honours and punishments. For the following is desirable:—What? That there may be equity in official business[26] and

[25] It is possible to read *lajûka-kaṭe*. But the seeming *e*-stroke is much shorter than the real ones, and, hence, is probably due to an accidental flaw in the stone.

[26] Though *viyohâla*, in Sanskrit *vyavahâra*, frequently means 'legal business,' 'judicial proceedings,' there is no objection to taking it here in the not less common wider sense 'business,' 'official business,' as the translation of *abhihâra* by "awarding honours" makes advisable.

equity in the award of punishments.' And even so far goes my order, "I have granted a respite of three days to prisoners on whom judgment has been passed and who have been condemned to death.[27] Their relatives will make some (*of them*) meditate deeply (*and*) in order to save the lives of those (*men*) or in order to make (*the condemned*) who is to be executed, meditate deeply, they will give gifts with a view to the next world or will perform fasts. For my wish is that they (*the condemned*) even during their imprisonment[28] may thus gain bliss in the next world; and various religious practices, self-restraint and liberality will grow among the people."

Remarks on the Translation.

a. In note 1 to my German translation of Rock Edict III, I have pointed out that Professor Jacobi has found the Jaina Prakrit representative of *lajûka* or *râjûka* (Girnâr) in the *Kalpasûtra*, where *rajjû* means "a writer, a clerk." I have added that *lajûka*, *i.e. lajjûka*, was an old name of the writer caste, which is later called *Divira* (*Dabîr*) or *Kâyastha*, and that Aśoka calls his great administrative officials simply "the writers," because they were chiefly taken from that caste. Though I do not see any reason to change this view, I now leave the word untranslated, because the rendering "writers" might mislead. Regarding my explanation of *âyatâ*, which I take to be equivalent to *pratishṭhilâh*, note 2, on Sep. Ed. I, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLI.

b. Professor Kern has without doubt correctly explained the general meaning of this sentence. Piyadasi declares that he has made his *Lajûkas* independent in the discharge of their duties and has abolished the appeals to higher authorities. This follows from the further statement (see below) that he has confided his subjects to them, just as a man confides his child to an intelligent nurse. I may add that there is a weighty objection to M. Senart's view, according to which Piyadasi says that he will keep legal proceedings against, and punishments of, the *Lajûkas* in his own hands. For, in all Native States of India a high official, who is "placed over many hundred thousand souls," is solely answerable to the king for his actions, and it is a matter of course that the same was the case in ancient India, as indeed in all despotic countries. An order enjoining that such men were to be punished by the king alone would have been quite superfluous. As regards the construction, I explain the sentence in Sanskrit as follows:—*teshâṁ yo' bhihâro vâ daṇḍo vâ* [*tatra*] *mayâ* [*teshâṁ*] *svatantratâ kṛitâ*, and I take *âtmapatyam* [*svatantratâ*] as a substantive, formed according to the analogy of *âdhipatyam* and so forth. The term *abhihâra* occurs in Pali in the sense of "honour, honorarium," see *Jâtakas*, vol. V, p. 58, verse 143, and *ibid.* p. 59, l. 28f. In the former passage the commentary explains *abhihâram* by *pûjam*. It is obvious that this meaning fits here excellently.

c. I interpret *dhammayutena* with Professor Kern by *dharmayuktena*, i. e. *dharmayuktyâ*. M. Senart's attempt to translate it by 'together with the Faithful,' *i.e.*

[27] In the interpretation of *ava ite* (Dh. A.) and *âvâ ite* (M. R.) I follow Professor Kern and M. Senart, who explain it by *yâvad itaḥ*, and I take *âvuti* with M. Senart as equivalent to *âyuktiḥ*. *Tilîta* or *tîlita* has here the same sense as *tîrita* Manu, IX, 233.

[28] *Niludhasi pi kâlasi*, literally *niruddhe pi kâle*, may be taken in the sense of *nirodhakâle pi*. Similar phrases occur in Pali, *e.g.*, *mithyâchâraṁ* and *anâchâraṁ chinnadivase* for *anâchâracharaṇadivase*, *Jât.* i, p. 300.

the Buddhists, is not tenable. The passage, Pillar Edict VII, 2, 2, which he connects with this, has nothing to do with it. For, *dhaṁmayutaṁ janaṁ* means there 'the loyal people,' and denotes Piyadasi's subjects, as distinguished from the *aṁtá*, 'the free borderers.'

(*d*) M. Senart's conjectural emendation *chaghaṁti* for *laghaṁti* is barred by the fact that the four complete versions all offer *laghaṁti*, and that the supposed *varia lectio* '*chaghaṁti*' does not exist. *Laghaṁti* seems to be the representative of Sanskrit *raṅghaṁte* 'they hasten', *i.e.* 'are eager.' I fully agree with the same scholar's remark that *paṭichal* must be taken in the sense of Sanskrit *parichár*, because in Pali the preposition *paṭi* is frequently used for *pari*. Its correctness is demonstrated by the fact that in the Jaina Mahârâshṭrî, *paḍiyar*, i.e. literally *pratichár*, means 'to serve,' see Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahârâshṭrî*, glossary *sub voce* '*paḍiyariya*.'

(*e*) As there are no other instances in which the neuter terminations are added to feminines in *a*, I cannot explain *chhaṁdaṁnáni* with M. Senart as a Dvandva compound, formed of *chhanda* and *ájñá*. I take it with Burnouf, as a Tatpurusha compound, equivalent to *chhandaṁ jánantíti chhandajñáh*, 'knowing the will,' and construe it with *pulisáni*, 'the servants.' This explanation seems also advisable, because one naturally expects that *maṁ* must be understood and is the object of *paṭichalisaṁti*, as of the preceding *paṭichalitave*. The 'servants', whom Piyadasi mentions here, are most probably the *paṭivedakas*, the spies, whom the great Maurya employed according to Rock Edict VI, in order to watch the actions of his great officials, of the Pañchs and other bodies in accordance with the precepts of the Indian *Rájanîti*. The further statement that these servants will exhort *káni*, "some" (as must be read with M. Senart), in order that the Lajûkas may strive to gain the favour of the king, probably means that these "servants" will exhort remiss Lajûkas, and that they will also, by exhorting or spreading the Dharma among the provincials at large, rouse the zeal of the Lajûkas. *Káni* thus refers both to the Lajûkas and the provincials. With the phrase *maṁ-álâdhayitave* compare *lájáladhi*,—Sep. Ed. I, 15 (Dhauli). To Professor Kern's excellent explanation of the verb *chagh* by the Hindî *châh-nâ*, I would add that *châh* occurs in all Indian vernaculars and without doubt belongs to the ancient stock of Aryan speech.

'Regarding this passage I can only agree with one of my predecessors in a single point. I believe that M. Senart is right in deriving *nijhapayisaṁti* and *nijhapayitá* from the Prakrit causative of *nidhyái* and not from *nikshapayati*. This derivation is perfectly justified by the word *nijhati*, below, VII, 2, 8, which in its general sense is certainly equivalent to Sanskrit *nididhyásaná* 'profound meditation.' In all other respects I differ. I am unable to accept the assertion of Professor Lassen, approved of by Professor Kern and M. Senart, that *nátikávakáni* is a compound, meaning 'neither more nor less.' The six syllables certainly must be separated into the three words *nátiká-va-káni*, i.e. *jñátaya eva káṁschit*. That is the only explanation which is grammatically possible, and gives, as will be shown presently, an excellent sense. I am further unable to disregard the well authenticated reading *nijhapayitave*, which R. and M. offer, instead of *nijhapayitá*. *Nijhapayitave* is clearly an infinitive in *tave*, such as occurs frequently in Piyadasi's inscriptions. This form must in my opinion be used in order to explain the more difficult *nijhapayitá*. The latter may be, too, an infinitive, on the supposition that it stands for *nijhapayitáya*. And the contraction of the syllable *áya* does occur in Pali, *e. g.*, in

esaná for *esanáya* (E. Müller, *Simplified Pali Grammar*, p. 67), just as it is found in the older Vedic Sanskrit and in the later Prakrit inscriptions. Finally, I cannot agree to the transliteration of *násantaṁ* by *náśántam*, because the latter word can never mean the term, *i. e.* 'the period of the execution,' but only either, 'the end of the execution' or 'that which has the execution for its end.' Neither translation gives any sense in our passage. I take *násaṁtaṁ* as equivalent to *náśyamánam* 'him who is going to be shortly executed.' It is thus the present participle of the passive of *náśayati* with the sense of the immediate future. And this explanation is formally unobjectionable, because even in the ancient Prakrits the passive may take the terminations of the active.

With these new interpretations the passage may be translated into Sanskrit as follows:—*jñátaya eva káṁschit* [*práptavadhán*] *nididhyásayishyanti* [tathâ] *teshâṁ jívanáya náśyamánaṁ vá nididhyásayituṁ páratrikaṁ dánaṁ dásyanty upávásaṁ vá karishyanti.* The general sense is: "During the respite of three days the relatives will exhort the condemned criminals to turn their thoughts to higher things, and they will give religious gifts (not bribes to the Lajûkas) or undergo fasts, hoping that either the lives of the condemned may be spared, or that at least the hearts of those who must die, will be softened and turn heavenwards." This sense is a perfectly natural one and agrees with the further remark in the next sentence, that the king wishes them, *i. e.* the criminals, to gain heaven, while they lie in prison, and that among the people at large the performance of religious practices, self-restraint and liberality will grow in consequence of the king's measures. Against the earlier interpretation, which ascribes the gifts and fasts not to the anxious relatives, but to the condemned criminals themselves, it must be objected that a Hindu criminal sentenced to death has nothing to give away. His property is confiscated just as that of an English felon was formerly taken by the Crown. The written Hindu law does not always state that capital punishment entails confiscation of property. But, numerous stories from ancient and modern times leave no doubt that the practice prevailed universally under Native Governments.

Edict V.

Dehli-Sivalik.	*Dehli-Mirat.*	*Allahabad.*
Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja-	. . . . .	. . . piye Piyadasî lâjâ hevam
hevaṁ-ahâ [:] saḍuvîsativasa [1]	. . . . .	âhâ [:] saḍuvîsativasâbhisitena me
abhisitena-me imâni-jâtâni ava-	. . . . .	imâni jâtâni avadhiyâni kaṭâni
dhiyâni-kaṭâni [,] se-yathâ [2]	. . . . .	[,] se yatha suke sâlikâ alune
suke sâlikâ alune chakavâke haṁ-	. . . . .	chakavâke . . [20] . . mukhe ge-
se naṁdîmukhe gelâṭe [3] jatû-	. . . . .	lâṭe jatûke[29] ambâkipilikâ daḍî[30]
kâ ambâkapîlikâ daḍî anaṭhika-	. . . . .	anathikamachhe vedaveyake gaṁ-
machhe vedaveyake [4] gaṁgâ-	. . . . .	gâpu putake saṁkujamachhe ka-
puputake saṁkujamachhe kapha-	. . . . .	phaṭa . . ke paṁnasase simale
ṭasayake[31] paṁnasase simale [5]	. . . . .	saṁ . [21] . . . . . kapote
saṁḍake okapiṁḍe palasate seta-	. . . . .	gâmakapote save chatupade ye
kapote gâmakapote [6] save-cha-	. . . . .	paṭibhogaṁ . . . . .
tupade ye-paṭibhogaṁ-no-eti na-	. . . . .	. . . . .
cha-khâdiyati . . . . . i [7] eḍa-	. . . . .	. . . . .

[29] Possibly *jitûke*, or *jatûkâ*.

[30] The strokes which make *daḍî* look like *dubhî* are, according to Dr. Fleet, *loc. cit.*, due to flaws in the stone.

[31] The apparent *i*-stroke above the last syllable of *kaphaṭa* is, as Dr. Fleet states (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 310), the lower part of the visarga of *Mahâdevaḥ* in the intervening line of later writing just above *kaphaṭa*.

EDICT V—*contd.*

Dehli-Sivalik.

kâ-châ sûkalî-châ gabhinî-va-pâyamînâ-va avadh[i]y. p. take[32] [8] pi-cha-kâni âsaṁmâsike[.] Vadhikukuṭe no-kaṭaviye[;] tuse-sajîve[9] no-jhâpetaviye[;] dâve-anaṭhâye-vâ vihisâye-vâ no-jhâpetaviye[;10] jîvena-jîve no-pusitaviye [.] Tîsu-châtuṁmâsîsu tisâyaṁ-puṁnamâsiyaṁ[11] tiṁni-divasâni châvudasaṁ paṁnaḍasaṁ paṭipadâye dhuvâye-châ [12] anuposathaṁ-machhe-avadhiye no-pi-viketaviye[.] Etâni-yeva-divasâni[13] nâgavanasi kevaṭabhogasi yâni-aṁnâni-pi jîvanikâyâni[14] no-haṁtaviyâni[.] Aṭhamîpakhâye châvudasâye paṁnaḍasâye tisâye [15] punâvasune tîsu-châtuṁmâsîsu sudivasâye gone-no-nîlakhitaviye [,16] ajake eḍake sûkale e-vâ-pi-aṁne nîlakhiyati no-nîlakhitaviye [.17] Tisâye punâvasune châtuṁmâsiye châtuṁmâsipakhâye asvasâ gonasâ[18] lakhane no-kaṭaviye[.] Yâva-saḍuvîsativasa abhisitena-me etâye[19] a[ṁ]talikâye paṁnavîsati baṁdhanamokhâni kaṭâni [.20]

Dehli-Mirat.

. . . . . .

[a] v. dh. y. p. t. k. pi cha-kâni [1] . . . . ke [.] [Vadhi]kukuṭe no-kaṭaviye[.] Tuse-sa[jîve] [2] . . . [taviye] [;] dâve ana[ṭh]âye-vâ[33] vihisâye-vâ no[3] [jhâpetaviye] [;] jîvena jîve no-pusitaviye[.] Tîsu châtaṁmâsîsu[34] [4] tisâya[ṁ] puṁnamâ[si] yaṁ tiṁni-divasâni châvudasaṁ paṁnaḍasaṁ [5] paṭipadâ. dhuvâye-cha anuposathaṁ machhe-avadhiye no-pi [6] viketaviye [.] Etâni-yeva-divasâni nâgavanasi kevaṭabhogasi [7] [yâ]. [a]. [ni]-pi-jîvanikâyâni[35] no-[ha] ṁtaviyâni[36] [.8] Aṭham(î)[37] . . ye châvudasâye paṁnaḍasâye tisâye[9] punâvasune tîsu châtuṁmâsîsu sudivasâye g[o]ne [10] [no-nî] la[khi]taviye ajake eḍake sûkale e-vâ-pi(11)aṁ[ne nîlakhi]yati [no]-nîlakhitaviye [.] Tisâye punâvasune[12] châtuṁmâsiye châtu[ṁmâ] sipakhâye asvasâ gonasâ lakhane[13] no- . viye(.) Yâva-saḍuvîsati[va]sa abhisitena-me etâye[14] aṁtalikâye paṁnavî[sa]ti ṭbaṁdhanamokhâni kaṭâni[.15]

Allahabad.

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . sajîve
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . no jhâ
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. .châ[vuda] saṁ paṁchada-[saṁ] . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. [tâni] . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . tha . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
l[a]khane no kaṭa[viye][.]
[Yâva]-sa . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. [27]
. . . . . .

Radhia, North Side.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja-hevaṁ-âha [:] saḍuvîsativasâbhisitasa-me imâni-pi-jâtâni avadhyâni [1] kaṭâni [,] se-yatha suke sâlika alune chakavâke haṁse naṁdîmukhe gelâṭe jatûka [2] ambâkapilika duḍi anaṭhikamachhe vedaveyake gaṁgâpuputake saṁkujamachhe kaphaṭaseyake [3] paṁnasase simale saṁḍake okapiṁḍe palasate setakapote gâ-

Mathia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja-hevaṁ-âha[:] saḍuvîsativasâbhisitasa-me imâni-pi [1] jâtâni avadhyâni-katâni [,] se-yathâ[38] [16] suke sâlika alune chakavâke haṁse [2]naṁdîmukhe gelâṭe jatûka ambâkapilika duḍi anaṭhikamachhe vedaveyake [3] gaṁgâpuputake saṁkujamachhe kaphaṭaseyake paṁnasase simale saṁḍake okapiṁḍe [4] palasate setaka-

[32] It is, of course, possible to read *avadhây*. But the right side of the vowel is mutilated, and the real reading was no doubt *avadhiy*, as the sense and the variants of the other versions require.

[33] Possibly *anathâye*.

[34] Read *châtuṁmâsîsu*.

[35] This might be read° *nikâyânî*, but the double stroke above *na* is probably due to a flaw.

[36] This looks like *haṁtaviyânî*, but the double stroke above *na* is probably due to a flaw in the stone.

[37] The quantity of the third vowel of *aṭhamî* is not certain.

[38] The *â*-stroke of *yathâ* is not certain.

makapote save chatupade[4] ye-paṭipogaṁ-no-eti[39] na-cha-khâdiyati [.] Ajakâ-nâni eḍakâ-cha sûkalî-cha gabhinî-va pâyamînâva[5] avadhya potake-cha-kâni âsaṁmâsike [.] Vadhikukuṭe no kaṭaviye [;] tuse-sajîve no jhâpayitaviye[;] dâve [6] anaṭhâyeva vihisâye-va no jhâpayitaviye [;] jîvena jîve no-pusitaviye [.] Tîsu-châtuṁmâsîsu tisyaṁ [7] puṁnamâsiyaṁ tiṁni divasâni châvudasaṁ paṁnaḍasaṁ paṭipadaṁ dhuvâye-cha anuposathaṁ machhe avadhye no pi [8] viketaviye[.] Etâni-yeva-divasâni nâgavanasi kevaṭabhogasi yâni-aṁnâni-pi-jîvanikâyâni[9] no-haṁtaviyâni[.] Aṭhamipakhâye châvudasâye paṁnaḍasâye tisâye punâvasune tîsu-châtuṁmâsîsu[10] sudivasâye gone-no-nîlakhitaviye ajake eḍake sûkale e-vâ-pi-aṁne nîlakhiyati no-nîlakhitaviye[.12] Tisâye punâvasune châtuṁmâsiye châtuṁmâsipakhâye asvasa gonasa lakhane-no-kaṭaviye(.12) Yâva-saḍuvîsativasâbhisitasa-me etâye aṁtalikâye paṁnavîsati baṁdhanamokhâni kaṭâni[.13]

pote gâmakapote save-chatupade ye-paṭibhogaṁ-no-eti na-cha khâdiyati[5] Ajakâ-nâni eḍakâ-cha sûkalî-cha gabhinî-va pâyamînâva avadhya potake-cha-kâni [6] âsaṁmâsike[.] Vadhikukuṭe-no-kaṭaviye[,] tuse-sajîve-no-jhâpayitaviye[.] Dâve-anaṭhâye-va [7] vihisâye-va no-jhâpayitaviye [;] jîvena-jîve-no-pusitaviye[.] Tîsu-châtuṁmâsîsu tisiyaṁ [8] puṁnamâsiyaṁ tiṁni—divasâni châvudasaṁ-paṁnaḍasaṁ paṭipadaṁ dhuvâye-cha-anuposathaṁ machhe avadhye [9] no-pi-viketaviye [.] Etâni-yeva-divasâni nâgavanasi kevaṭabhogasi yâni-aṁnâni-pi[10] jîvanikâyâni no-haṁtaviyâni[.] Aṭhamipakhâye châvudasâye paṁnaḍasâye tisâye punâvasune[11] tîsu-châtuṁmâsîsu sudivasâye gone-no-nîlakhitaviye ajake eḍake sûkale e-vâ-pi-aṁne[2]nîlakhiyati no-nîlakhitaviye[.] Tisâye-punâvasune châtuṁmâsiye chatuṁmâsipakhâye asvasa gonasa[13] lakhane-no-kaṭaviye[.] Yâva-saḍuvîsativasâbhisitena-me etâye aṁtalikâye paṁnavîsati[14] baṁdhanamokhâni kaṭâni[.15]

Edict V.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I forbade the slaughter of the following creatures,[a] *viz.* parrots, starlings,[b] *alunas*, Brâhmanî ducks, swans,[c] *nandîmukhas*,[40] *gelâṭas*, *jatukas*,[41] *aṁbâkapilikâs*,[d] terrapins,[e] boneless fish,[f] *vedaveyakas*, *gaṁgâpupuṭakas*, *sankuja*-fish,[g] tortoises, porcupines,[h] *paṁnasasas*,[i] *sṛimaras*,[j] bulls set free,(?) *okapiṇḍas*,[k] rhinoceros,[l] grey doves,[m] village-pigeons,[42] and all quadrupeds, which are not used[n] nor are eaten. She-goats, ewes and sows, (*i.e.*) those which are with young or in milk, must not be slaughtered, nor their young ones, (*i.e.*) some (*of them*) which are less than six months old[o]. Caponing cocks is forbidden; husks, containing living animals, must not be burned;[p] forests must not be burnt out of mischief or in order to injure (*living beings*);[q] living creatures must not be fed with living creatures[r]. At the (*full moon of each*)[s] of the three seasons and at the full

[39] Read *paṭibhagaṁ*.

[40] According to the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary* the Nandîmukha is mentioned as an aquatic bird in the *Bhâvaprakâśa*.

[41] *Jatuka*, no doubt, means 'a bat'. But I must confess that I do not understand, how bats come on this list, as in general they are neither eaten nor used in any way. Possibly the flying foxes which otherwise have the separate name *manthâla* or *râgvada*, may be meant. These are eaten at least by low-caste people, like the Kâṭkarîs. Their flesh is forbidden in some of the law-books, *e.g.*, Gautama, xvii, 34.

[42] *Gâmakapote* is, of course, the blue rock pigeon, found in most villages and towns, especially in the wells.

moon of Taisha fish shall neither be killed nor be sold during three days, (*viz.*) the fourteenth, the fifteenth (*and*) the first (*of the following fortnight*), nor constantly, on each fast day.[s] On the same days no other animals, found in the elephant-preserves and in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.[t] On the eighth of (*each*) fortnight,[u] on the fourteenth, the fifteenth, on the Tishya and Punarvasu days,[v] on the full-moon days of the three seasons, and on festivals[43] bulls shall not be castrated,[w] nor he-goats, rams, and boars; nor shall any other animal be castrated which is (*commonly*) castrated. On the Tishya and Punarvasu days, on the full-moon days of the seasons, and during the fortnights connected with the full-moons of the seasons,[x] the marking of horses and oxen is forbidden.[y] Up to the twenty-sixth (*anniversary*) of my coronation I have decreed twenty-five (*times*) the liberation of (*all*) prisoners[z].

Remarks on the Translation.

(*a*) According to the general maxim, prevalent in Sanskrit and the Prakrits, which permits the neuter of the perfect participle past to be used in the sense of the noun of action in *ti*, *játaṁ* might be interpreted with M. Senart by *játi* and be translated by "animals of the following kinds." But, as the neuter *játa* means also "creature," I prefer this simpler interpretation. The eastern versions offer: "Of even the following creatures."

(*b*) M. Senart's latest translation gives correctly the modern Indian expression "*maina*." I prefer to put the English word. All the European dictionaries translate *sáriká* wrongly or omit the translation. Molesworth gives the right meaning in the *Marâṭhî Dictionary*. The scientific name of the bird is *Acridotheres tristis*, Linn., Murray, *Avifauna of British India*, No. 912.

(*c*) This term probably includes wild geese and large ducks, see Molesworth, *Marâṭhî Dictionary sub voce*. The birds, which were pointed out to me as *haṁsas* in the palace at Kolhâpur and elsewhere, looked very much like Turkish ducks.

(*d*) M. Senart connects the first part of *aṁbákapiliká* or *aṁbákapilika* with *ambu*, 'water,' and translates "water-ants(?)". As far as I am aware, no such animal is known in natural history. The explanation 'mother-ant,' or 'queen-ant,' is at least possible. For the queens of the white-ants are eagerly sought after and eaten, because they are considered to act as a strong aphrodisiac. The only time when I obtained a queen-ant, it was at once stolen by my servants. But, as three versions read °*kapiliká*, it may be doubted if the word is the Pali representative of *pipîliká*.

(*e*) As *duḍí* is said to be a small tortoise, it is no doubt the terrapin, which is found in many Indian gardens. Tortoises belong to the five-toed animals that may be eaten, —see remark (*h*).

(*f*) M. Senart's conjecture that prawns are meant by the expression 'boneless fish' is not improbable.

(*g*) M. Senart's suggestion that *saṁkuja* is identical with Sanskrit *śaṅkuchi* 'a skate,' seems very probable.

[43] The translation of *sudivasa* by 'festival' is merely conjectural, but may be defended by its etymological meaning *śobhana divasa*, which would suit a festival. I think that popular festivals, like the modern Divâli, Dasara, and the like may be meant.

(*h*) *Sayaka* and *seyaka* (R. M.), of course, represent Sanskrit *śalyaka*. The *śalyaka* is one of the five-toed animals that may be eaten by Aryans, see—*e.g.*, Âpastamba, *Dh. Sû*, i, 17, 37, Baudhâyana, *Dh. Śâ.* i, 12, 5, Gautama, *Dh. Śâ.* xvii, 27, Vasishṭha, *Dh. Śâ*, xiv, 39. It is associated with the *kaphaṭa*, *i.e.*, according to M. Senart's excellent conjecture, *kamaṭha*, 'the tortoise,' because in the law-books *śalyaka* and *kachchhapa* are always closely put together among the eatable five-toed animals.

(*i*) According to the analogy of *parṇamṛiga*, 'an animal living in the leaves of trees,' *paṁnasase i.e. parṇaśaśaḥ* may mean 'a hare, *i.e.* a hare-like animal living in the leaves of trees,' and denote the large white-bellied, red squirrel, which is found in the forests of the Western Ghâṭs. It is quite as large as a hare, and its skinned body looks exactly like that of a hare. I have shot it near Yellapur in Kanara. Its meat tasted very much like that of a hare.

(*j*) *Simale* corresponds exactly to the Sanskrit *sṛimarâ*. Vâgbhaṭa, *Ashṭâṅgahṛidaya Sû.* I, 49, names this animal, among the ten *mahâmṛiga* or large wild animals, next to the *chamara* or yak-ox and the rhinoceros. It stands also next to the yak in the enumeration of wild animals, which occurs in the *Jâtakamâlâ* xxvi, 7, see the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*, sub voce *sṛimara*). Perhaps it may be the large Bârâsing stag.

(*k*) M. Senart has called attention to the passage of the *Mahâvagga*, vi, 17, where the *ukkapiṇḍâ* are said to eat the provisions of the monks. According to the note to the translation, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XVII, p. 70, Buddhaghosha explains the term by *bilâlamûsikagodhâmuṅgusâ*, 'cats, mice, iguanas and mungooses'. He takes it evidently in its etymological sense, *ukke i.e. oke piṇḍo yeshâṁ te* 'animals which find their food in the houses,' *i.e.* 'vermin.' This general explanation does not suit here, because cats, mice and mungooses are not eaten, and because a particular kind of animal must be meant. I would suggest that Piyadasi forbids the slaughter of one of the animals named by Buddhaghosha, *viz.* of the *godhâ*, the large lizard, which, according to the law-books, quoted in note (*h*) belongs to the eatable five-toed animals.

(*l*) M. Senart's correction *palapate* for *palasate* is inadmissible, because all the three versions agree, and because the turtle-dove is denoted by the next term. Mr. Trenckner's explanation of the corresponding Pali *parasato* by 'rhinoceros' (*Pâli Miscellany*, I, 50) fits excellently. For the rhinoceros is also one of the five-toed animals which may be eaten,—see the passages from the law-books, quoted in note (*h*). Moreover, the rules regarding the Śrâddhas show clearly that the meat of the rhinoceros was highly esteemed. According to Manu, iii, 272, and the parallel passages, quoted in the Synopsis, rhinoceros meat satisfies the manes "for an endless time."

(*m*) *Setakapote*, no doubt, denotes the whitish-grey doves, which are found in large numbers in many parts of India, and which are usually included in the general term *hollo* or *hullâ*. White pigeons, as indeed all tame pigeons, are only kept by Musalmans, not by Hindus.

(*n*) M. Senart has stated that *paṭibhoga*, literally 'enjoyment,' does not refer *exclusively* to nourishment. I should say that on account of the following clause "nor are eaten" it must mean "other use than for food" and that Piyadasi means to forbid the slaughter of all animals whose skins, fur, feathers, etc., are not required, as well as of those which are not eaten.

(*o*) *Ajakânâni* must be separated into *ajaká nâni*. *Nâni* is the neuter plural of the pronoun *na*, which is associated with a feminine in utter disregard of the rules of concord, as happens more frequently in these inscriptions. The proper form of the sentence would be in Sanskrit *ajâ eḍikâścha sûkaryaścha tâ garbhiṇyo dhayantyo vâ avadhyâḥ*. M. Senart's conjectural emendation *pîyamânâ* for *pâyamânâ* is inadmissible, because all the versions agree in giving the latter word and because *pîyamânâ* is against the Pali idiom. *Pâyati*, not *pîyati*, means in Pali 'to suckle', see Childers Dictionary, *sub voce pibati*. Nor is it necessary to change the vowel of the affix. The affix *mîna-mina* occurs more frequently for *mâna* in the inscriptions, and it is evidently an interesting relic of ancient times, as the Zend *mana-mna*, the Greek *menos* and the Latin *minimina* show. The additional clause may be translated and explained thus:—

Potakâś cha [*api cha*, D. S., D. M.] *kechit* [*te cha kathaṁbhûtâḥ*] *âshaṇmâsikâḥ* [*avadhyâ iti śeshaḥ*]. The plural *kâni* is joined with the singular *potake*, because the latter is taken in a collective sense. M. Senart's derivation of *âsaṁmâsika* from *âshaṇmâsam* 'up to six months,' may be defended by the analogy of *âkâlika*, the adjective belonging to *âkâlam*, 'up to the same hour on the next day'. Piyadasi's prohibition agrees with the sentiments of the Brahmanical teachers, who all forbid to sacrifice animals which have not changed their teeth, and who sometimes forbid their flesh to be eaten, see, *e.g.*, Gautama, *Dh. Śâ.*, xviii, 31.

(*p*) This prohibition probably refers to the practice, which here and there still survives, of burning the last remnants of the husks remaining on the threshing-floor of the village, in order to destroy the vermin.

(*q*) *Vihisâye*, 'to injure living beings" very probably refers, as M. Senart suggests, to the custom of setting the jungles on fire in order to drive out the game and of thus destroying it.

(*r*) I here again follow M. Senart, whose explanation appears to me the most natural. The prohibition probably refers to cases where sacred crocodiles or snakes, tame tigers and other carnivorous animals were fed with living fowls, sheep or goats.

(*s*) *Châtuṁmâsî*, which corresponds to the Sanskrit *châturmâsî*, is the full moon of each term or season of four months, which according to one reckoning is considered the last day of that period, and according to another as falling in its beginning. The formation of the Sanskrit *châturmâsî* is taught in Vârttika 7 on Pâṇini, v. 1, 94:—*saṁjñâyâm aṇ*. "*To chaturmâsa*,[44] '*a period of four months*', (*is added*) the affix *a*, which causes Vṛiddhi of the first syllable, in a (*word of*) technical import." Patañjali adds: "*chaturshu mâseshu bhavâ châturmâsî paurṇamâsî*, 'the full-moon day which falls after a period of four months is called *châturmâsî*," and the *Kâśikâ*, which repeats Patañjali's explanation, says further that the three full-moon days of Âshâḍha, Kârttika and Phâlguna are meant.[45] More explicit are the statements, which the *Sumaṅgala Vilâsinî* makes on *Dîgha Nikâya*, ii, 1 (p. 139), while explaining the words *Kômudiyâ châtumâsiniyâ* "on the full-moon (*night or tithi*) of Kârttika (*which is*) *châtumasinî*." It says:—*châtumâsiniyâ ti châtumâsiyâ sâ hi chatuṇṇaṁ mâsâṇaṁ pariyosânabhûtâ châtumâsî idha pana châtumâsinîti vuchchati*. "*Châtumâsiniyâ* is equivalent to *châtumâsiyâ*. For that (*full-*

[44] This must be understood from Vârttika 6: *chaturmâsâṇ ṇyo yajñe tatra bhave*. See the *Mahâbhâshya*, Vol. II, 361 (ed. Kielhorn).

[45] Compare also Haradatta on Âpastamba, *Dharma Sûtra*, I, 10, 1.

moon of *Kârttika*) is the end of four months (*and is*) hence (*called*) *châtumâsî*, but here *châtumâsinî*.[46] It thus appears that the real meaning of *châtumâsî-châtumâsinî* is "that which falls at the end of a period of four months." And this explanation presupposes a division of the year into three periods of four months each, the months ending, according to what is called the *pûrṇimânta* scheme of Northern India, with the full-moon days.

The division of the year into three seasons of four months certainly was in India the most popular in the prehistorical period and in the earlier part of the historical period.[47] Each of them was called a *Chaturmâsam* or *Châturmâsyam*.[48] Both the *Brâhmaṇas* and the Brahmanical *Sûtras*, as well as the canonical books of the Buddhists, frequently refer to the division of the year into three seasons, which is at the bottom of various religious institutions. With the Brahmans it was the cause of the celebration of the Châturmâsya[49] sacrifices which were offered according to some 'at the end,' according to others 'at the beginning' of each season.[50] With the Buddhist monks it was the reason for extending the retreat during the rainy season, the *vasso*, over four months, see *Mahâvagga*, iii, 2, 2 and iii, 14, 11. The same period was kept by the Jaina Nirgranthas and the ancient Brahmanical ascetics. It further was used in official documents, and influenced the manner of dating them in most parts of India. The second Separate Edict prescribes the reading of the document 'on the Tishya day at each *Châtuṁmâsa*.' The large majority of the ancient dated inscriptions, those from Mathurâ incised during the rule of the Indo-Scythic kings Kanishka, Huvishka and Vâsudeva (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, p. 371, ff, and vol. II, p. 195 ff.; Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* vol. III, plates xiii-xv), two Gupta inscriptions from the same town (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 210), the early dated inscription of the Mathurâ Satrap Śoḍâsa, the edicts of the Andhras and Abhîras (Burgess, *Rep. Arch. Surv. W. I.*, vol. IV, p. 103ff. and vol. V, p. 73ff.), the old Pallava land grant (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, p. 1ff.) and the Sanskrit Kadamba inscription (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII, p. 37), invariably mention the season in which the documents were issued. And only three seasons occur, viz. *grîshmâḥ-gimhâ*, 'summer,' *varshâḥ-vasâ*, 'the rains,' *hemantâḥ-hemantâ* 'winter,' the names of which are frequently abbreviated to *gri* or *gṛi*, *va* and *he*. In the inscriptions from Mathurâ and the neighbourhood each season is divided into four months, and we actually find, Mathurâ inscriptions, 2nd series (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, No. 4; Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.*, vol. III, No. 12) *gṛi*, (*i.e. grîshmamâse*)

[46] The Sanskrit equivalent *châturmâsin* likewise exists, but has a different meaning, see Vârttika 5 on Pâṇini, v. 1, 94.

[47] Other divisions, especially that into six seasons, are no doubt equally ancient, see Prof. Weber, *Die Nachrichten von den vedischen Nakshatra*, ii, p. 327ff. But they do not seem to have been used in popular life to an equal extent.

[48] *Châturmâsyam* is formed according to the analogy of *trailokyam*, *traimâsyam*, *châturvarṇyam*, *châturâśramyam* and so forth, see Vârttika 1 on Pâṇini, v. 1, 124, and the explanation of the passage in the *Kâśikâ*. I point this out in order to meet the doubt which M. Senart, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 76, feels regarding my explanation of the compound *anuchâtuṁmâsaṁ* in the second Separate Edict. He thinks that, if *anuchâtuṁmâsaṁ* meant 'at the commencement of every term or season of four months,' it must be *anuchatuṁmâsaṁ* with a short *a* in the third syllable. In stating this he has overlooked that *châturmâsyaṁ*, in Pali *châtuṁmâsaṁ*, is a perfectly correct synonym of *chaturmâsam*.

[49] The word *châturmâsya* is according to Vârttika 6 on Pâṇini v. 1, 95, derived from *chaturmâsam* by the affix *ya*, causing Vṛiddhi, and meaning *tatra bhava*, falling into that.

[50] See Manu, iv, 26, and the parallel passages in the synopsis to my translation. Manu says that they are to be offered *ṛitvante*, and thus reckons the three full-moon days as the last of the season. Similarly he uses IV, 119, *ṛitvantâsu râtrishu* for *châturmâsîshu*. Baudhâyana has *ṛitumukhe*, and other passages from the Śrauta Sûtras and Brâhmaṇas are quoted by Professor Weber in his *Nachrichten v.d. Nakshatra*, ii, 329ff. The discrepancy has no doubt been caused by a difference in the reckoning of the commencement of the seasons.

4; Mathurâ inscriptions, 1st series, No. 3, and second series, No. 20, *va*, (i.e., *varshamâse*) 4, Cunningham, No. 20, *varshamâse* 4; Mathurâ inscription, 1st series, No. 21, *hemantamâse chaturtthe* 4, ibidem No. 8, *hemantamâse* 4, and Cunningham, No. 20, *he* 4. In the inscriptions from Southern India each season is divided into eight fortnights, and the latest, actually mentioned, are the fifth (Nâsik inscriptions Nos. 16 and 17, Kaṇheri inscriptions Nos. 4 and 16), the sixth (Pallava land grant of Śivaskandavarman) and the eighth (Kadamba inscription of Mṛigeśavarman). The period during which this method of dating was in general use, embraces the first century B.C. and the first two centuries A.D. But, in Mathurâ it survived until the fifth century A.D., as No. 39 of the second series was incised during the reign of Kumâragupta and in the Gupta year 113 or A.D. 431—2 Kâ[rttikahema]ntamâs[e] divase 20, "on the 20th day of the winter month of Kârttika. In Southern India it presumably lasted at least until the same period, to which the Kadamba land grants probably belong.

Finally, it may be noted that the old division into three seasons is the only one used by the common people in the districts known to me. The Gujarâtî villagers and all persons not affected by the learning of the *Śâstras* speak only of the *uṇhâlo* (*ushṇakâla*) *varsâd nâ dehâḍâ* or *chomâsum* and *shîyâlo*. The Marâṭhas know only *unhâlâ*, *pâvasâlâ* (*prâvṛish* and *kâla*) and *himvâlâ* (*himakâla*.) Further north and east I have frequently heard the terms mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*,[51] *dhûpkâl*, *barkhakâl* and *sîtkâl* or equivalents thereof. With respect to the beginning of each season the authorities differ. The oldest, the *Brâhmaṇas*, as well as some *Śrauta Sûtras*, begin the hot season with the month of Phâlguna, other *Śrauta Sûtras* with the month of Chaitra.[52] The two schemes of the seasons, therefore, are:—

	I	II
Grîshmâḥ	Phâlguna. Chaitra. Vaiśâkha. Jyaishṭha.	Chaitra. Vaiśâkha. Jyaishṭha. Âshâḍha.
Varshâḥ	Âshâḍha. Śrâvaṇa. Bhâdrapada or Praushṭhapada. Âśvina or Âśvayuja.	Śrâvaṇa. Bhâdrapada or Praushṭhapada. Âśvina. Kârttika.
Hemantâḥ	Kârttika. Mârgaśîrsha. Pausha or Taisha. Mâgha.	Mârgaśîrsha. Pausha. Mâgha. Phâlguna.

The statements of the Buddhists show the same discrepancies. Hiuen Tsiang, *Siyûki*, vol. I, p. 72 (Beal), alleges that "according to the holy doctrine of Tathâgata the year is divided into three seasons," the hot, the wet and the cold, the scheme of which agrees with the second given above. But the canonical books of the southern Buddhists show clearly that their authors knew also the scheme according to which the hot season began with Phâlguna. For they prescribe for the *vasso*, the retreat during the rainy season, an "earlier" period, beginning with "the day after the full moon in Âshâḍha,"

[51] Gladwin ed., vol. I, p. 266; see Sir A. Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 3; Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, § 1083; and Hillebrandt, *Die Sonnenwendfeste*, p. 26f.

[52] See A. Weber: *op. cit.*, p. 329f.

and a later one, commencing "a month later than the full-moon of Ashâḍha," *i.e.* with the day after the full-moon of Śrâvaṇa. And it is further stated that the "later" term closed with *Komudî châtumâsinî*, "the full moon of Kârttika with which the season of four months ends".[53] Both these passages presuppose, just like that from the *Dîgha Nikâya* (above, p. 261), the use of the *pûrṇimânta* reckoning for the months.

In the inscriptions of the Indo-Scythic period there is no indication showing when the seasons began. But, if the restoration of the Gupta inscription No. 39 is correct, it follows that in the fifth century A.D. the winter began with Kârttika, and that the scheme of the seasons was the older one, given under No. I.

Under these circumstances it is not possible to decide with certainty which full moons are meant by "the three-Châtuṁmâsîs." They may be either those of Phâlguna, Âshâḍha and Kârttika, or those of Chaitra, Śrâvaṇa and Mârgaśîrsha. It is further not certain if these full-moon days were considered respectively as the last days of winter, summer and the rains, or as falling in the beginning of summer, the rains and winter. But the *consensus* of the three passages from the Buddhist scriptures and of Manu's passages induces me to assume that the former view was that held in Piyadasi's times, as these works were probably composed not very long before and after Piyadasi.

The fourth full moon, which our passage mentions, is that of Taisha or Pausha, December—January. The forms *tisyaṁ* (R) and *tisiyaṁ* (M) are derived from the feminine adjective *tisî*, which has been formed from *tishya* without Vṛiddhi in the first syllable. With the form *tisâyaṁ* (D. S., D. M.), the locative of *tisâ*, i.e. *tissâ* (*tishyâ*), compare the first part of the Vedic *tishyâ-pûrṇamâsa* (see Prof. Weber, *op. cit.*, II, p. 326). The word *dhuvâye* which stands before *anuposathaṁ* must no doubt be taken in the sense of the Sanskrit *dhruvâya*, "constantly" (see the Petersburg Dict., *sub voce*) i.e. "in all months". *Anuposathaṁ* consists of *anu* and *posatha*, and it is worthy of note that the form *posatha*, with which Piyadasi denotes the fast days or Parvan days, stands midway between the Pali *uposatha* and the Jaina Prakrit *posaha*.

The total number of days on which Piyadasi prohibited the killing and sale of fish, amounts to fifty-six in the year, *viz.* :—

(1) Six in each of the months in which a new season began and in Taisha or Pausha, the eighth of each fortnight, the full-moon days with those immediately preceding and following them and the new-moon day, or 24 in all; (2) four in the remaining eight months, the full and new-moon days, and the eighth of each fortnight, or 32 in all.

As regards the reasons which induced Piyadasi to apply his prohibition to the particular days mentioned, the selection of the Posatha days as well as of those at the end and beginning of the seasons is easily intelligible. The four days of the changes of the moon, which the Brahmans designate by the astronomical term Parvan, were the ancient Sabbath days of the orthodox Hindus. The Brahmanical Sûtras prescribe on the two chief Parvans, the full and new-moon days, for every householder, the performance of sacrifices, which are preceded by fasting. Moreover, there are in the *Dharmasûtras* and *Dharmaśâstras*[54] a number of rules which make the Parvan days times of

[53] See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XIII, p. 299 f. and p. 324. The note on the second passage explains the word *Châtumâsinî* erroneously. I translate it according to the explanation given in the *Sumaṅgala Vilâsinî*, see above, p. 261.

[54] See Manu iii, 45, and iv, 128, as well as iv, 150 and 153, and the passages quoted in the Synopsis to my Translation.

continence, worship, prayer, and abstention from doing injury even to plants.[55] According to the commentaries most of these rules refer to the two chief Parvans alone. But the texts, one and all, state explicitly that the injunction of continence applies also to the eighth days of each fortnight, and it is not improbable that the other rules in reality were meant to apply likewise to these two days. All the four Parvan days were kept as holidays in the Brahmanical schools. The *Dharmasûtras* and metrical *Smṛitis* prescribe that the Veda-study is to be interrupted on these occasions for a whole day and night[56] and a verse is adduced which describes the bad results of a breach of this rule. It would thus appear that the Buddhists and the Jainas, in giving their rules for the Uposatha or Posaha days, did not much more than take over and perpetuate the ancient rules of the orthodox Hindus, and it would further appear that, by ordering a partial *amârî*,[57] Piyadasi acted in accordance with the sentiments not only of the heterodox sects, but also of his orthodox subjects. It is equally easy to understand why Piyadasi's rule applies to the end and the beginning of each season. The three *Châturmâsî* full-moons were also great holidays. The orthodox Brahmans, who kept three sacred fires, performed on these occasions the Châturmâsya sacrifices, those who kept a single fire celebrated corresponding rites, and the Brahmanical schools kept them as holidays[58] on which studying was forbidden. According to the Buddhistic *Sumaṅgala Vilâsinî*, p. 140 (explanation of the words *upariprâsâdavaragata*) at least one of these days, the full moon of Kârttika was kept as a popular festival. The *Nakshatra*, *i.e.* the conjunction, was publicly proclaimed, the houses were gaily decorated, and the citizens gave themselves up to celebrating the Nakshatra by amusements of various kinds. From the *Dîpavansa*, XV, 19, it appears that the Buddhists worshipped the sacred relics on that day. Similar popular and sectarian festivals were probably held on the other two days, and it is very likely that the modern Śivite festival on Kârttika sudi 15, the Holi on Phâlguna sudi 15, and the practice of making presents to Brahmans on Kârttika and Âshâḍha sudi 15, may go back to the earliest times or be connected with the more ancient popular holidays at the end and the beginning of the three seasons.

More difficult is the answer to the question why Piyadasi included in his prohibition the three days at full moon of Taisha or Pausha. But it may be suggested that the day may have been regarded as the conventional beginning of the Uttarâyaṇa, the sun's progress towards the north. This is still a great festival, now called *Makarasaṁkrânti*, and celebrated not on the actual day of the entrance of the sun into the zodiacal sign, but later in January.

(*t*) The term *nâgavana*, "elephant-preserve," is found both in Pali and in Sanskrit. It occurs repeatedly in the *Châlahatthipadopamasutta* of the *Majjhima Nikâya*. Thus we read, p. 178 (ed. Trenckner):—*Seyyathâ pi brâhmaṇa nâgavaniko nâgavanaṁ paviseyya, so passeya nâgavane mahantaṁ hatthipadaṁ dîghato cha âyataṁ tiriyañ cha vitthataṁ, etc.* "Just as when, O Brâhmana, the keeper of an elephant-preserve, enters

[55] Vishṇu, lxxi, 87, says: "Let him not cut even a blade of grass."

[56] Manu, iv, 113—114, and the parallel passages, quoted in the Synopsis.

[57] Partial and temporary prohibitions to kill were issued occasionally even in much later times. Thus the Śatruñjaya inscriptions, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 37, state that the emperor Akbar stopped for a year the killing of aquatic animals at the instance of Jiñahaṁsa Sûri, and that the same prince forbade the slaughter of all animals during six months in accordance with the prayer of Hîravijaya Sûri.

[58] Manu, iv, 119, and the parallel passages in the Synopsis.

the elephant-preserve, he may see in the elephant-preserve large footmarks of elephants, both long in length and broad in breadth, etc." In Sanskrit it occurs in Bâṇa's *Harshacharita*.[59] The taming of elephants was in India a royal prerogative and the sale of elephants a royal monopoly, see Medhâtithi on Manu, viii, 399. Particular forests, belonging to the Crown, were no doubt reserved in Piyadasi's days, as at present, for the breeding of elephants, and these are meant here.

The word *kevaṭabhoga* has not been traced in literary works. But its meaning is not doubtful both on account of its co-ordination with *nâgavana* and on account of its etymological meaning, 'that which is enjoyed or used by fishermen.' Probably particular lakes or portions of the rivers are meant, which were set apart for the fishermen of the various towns and villages, and were consequently their *bhog*, as the modern phrase is.

(*u*) M. Senart's explanation of *âṭhamîpakhâye* by "*pakshasyâshṭamyâm* on the eighth of (*each*) fortnight" is no doubt correct. In the Jaina *Âchârâṅga*, ii, 15, 17, p. 125, Jacobi we have an exactly analogous compound *dasamîpakkheṇa* "on the tenth of the fortnight." The position of the parts of the compounds is inverted in accordance with a license or slovenliness, frequently observable in all Prakrits, compare, *e. g.* the Deśî *valayabâhu* 'armlet' (Hemachandra, *Deśîkosha*, VII, 52) for *bâhuvalaya*. Some formations of this kind like *vârabâṇa*, 'a protection against arrows, *i. e.* 'a coat-of-mail,' have even crept into Sanskrit in addition to those words where the grammar or classical usage sanctions the irregular position of the parts of the compound.

(*v*) The days of the month were commonly named according to the Nakshatras, with which the moon was supposed to be in conjunction, see my note 11 on the Sep. Ed. I, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Ges.* vol. XLI. As no specification is added, Piyadasi's prohibition probably applies to the Tishya and Punarvasu days of each month. Both are among the *puṇya nakshatra* and Tishya or Pushya is occasionally cited as an example of an auspicious constellation. It is probable that, as the holier one, it has been placed before Punarvasu, which in the list of the Nakshatras stands earlier, being the fifth, while Tishya is the sixth. Bṛihaspati is the guardian deity of the latter; Aditi of the former.

(*w*) M. Senart has no doubt correctly explained *nîlakhiyati* by *nirlakshyate*, and correctly assigned to it the meaning 'is castrated.' I may add that the Deśî word[60] *ṇelachchho* or *nelachchho*, 'a eunuch,' furnishes the proof for his assertion.

(*x*) According to the analogies, found in the *Śrauta Sûtras*, *châturmmâsipakha*, the fortnight connected with the full moons of the seasons, may mean either the dark fortnight following the *Chaturmâsî pûrṇimâ*, as Mr. Senart assumes, or the bright fortnight preceding it. For Kâtyâyana uses *mâghîpaksha* for the dark half of Mâgha, and Lâṭyâyana *phâlgunîpaksha* for the bright half of Phâlguna.[61] If, however, as I believe, Piyadasi used the *pûrṇimânta* reckoning, the second explanation is the more natural one.

(*y*) According to a passage, quoted by Professor Weber (*Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Nakshatra*, II, p. 330, Note 2), the Brâhmans considered the new-moon day of Phâlguna to be the proper time for marking cows (see also *Śâṅkhâyana Gṛihya Sûtra*, III, 10.)

[59] See also passage quoted in the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*.

[60] See Hemachandra *Deśîkosha*, iv, 44, and *Pâiyalachchhî*, verse 235, as well as the note in the glossary to the latter.

[61] See the *Petersburg Dictionaries* under the two words, and the commentaries on the passages quoted there and in Professor Weber's *Nachrichten von den Nakshatra*, Bd. II, p. 327.

(*z*) It is not necessary to depart with M. Senart from the natural sense of the passage and to assume that Piyadasi restricted his order to certain classes of criminals. For, it must not be forgotten that long terms of imprisonment were not in favour with the authors of the ancient criminal codes of India. For serious crimes they mostly prescribe capital punishment, mutilation and banishment; for lighter offences fines and whipping. In Piyadasi's times the prisons, therefore, did probably not contain many prisoners condemned to long terms for serious crimes. I may add that the liberation of all prisoners, as an act of royal clemency, seems quite natural to Hindus. Only a few years ago I remember reading a rather sarcastic paragraph in the *Bombay Gazette Summary* on a princeling in Bengal, I think, who on the birth of a son decreed a general jail delivery in his fortunately not very extensive dominions; compare also *Jâtakas*, vol. V, p. 285, l. 25.

Edict VI.

Dehli-Sivalik.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja-hevaṁ-ahâ[:] duvâḍasa[1] vasa-abhisitena-me dhaṁmalipi-likhâpitâ lokasâ[2] hitasukhâye[:] se-taṁ-apahaṭâ taṁ-taṁ-dhaṁma-vaḍhi-pâpovâ[.3] Hevaṁ-lokasâ hitasukhe-ti-paṭivekhâmi atha-iyaṁ[4] nâtisu hevaṁ-patiyâsaṁ-nesu hevaṁ-apakaṭhesu[;5] ki-maṁ-kâni-sukhaṁ avahâmî-ti tatha-cha-vidahâmi[.] Hemevâ [6] savanikâyesu paṭivekhâmi[.] Savapâsaṁḍâ-pi-me-pûjitâ[7] vi-vidhâya-pûjâyâ[.] E-chu-iyaṁ-atunâ pachûpagamane[8] se-me-mokhyamate[.] Saḍuvîsativasa abhisitena-me[9] iyam-dhaṁmalipi likhâpitâ[.10]

Dehli-Mirat.

Missing.

Allahabad.

[27] . . . . Piyadasî lâ-
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .i pâ-
. .[.] Hevaṁ . . . [28]
hitasukhe-ti-paṭivekhâmi atha .
. . .[tisu] . . . . . .
. . âsaṁne[su] hevaṁ apaka-
. .[;] kimaṁ . . . . . .
. . . . . .
da[hâ]mi[.] Hevaṁmeva sava
. .yesu paṭivekhâmi[.29] Sa-vapâsaṁḍâ pi-me-pûjitâ vividhâ-ya pûjâyâ[.] Echuiyaṁatanâ pachupagamane se me mukhyâ-mute[.] . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. lipi likhâpitâ-ti[.30]

Radhia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] duvâḍasavasâbhi-sitena-me dhaṁmalipi likhâpita lokasa[14] hitasukhâye[:] se-taṁ-apahaṭa taṁ-taṁ dhaṁma-vaḍhi-pâpova[.][62] Hevaṁ-lokasa-hitasukhe-ti paṭivekhâmi[15] athâ-iyaṁ-nâtisu hevaṁ-patyâ-saṁnesu hevaṁ-apakaṭhesu[,] kiṁmaṁ-kâni-sukhaṁ-âvahâmî ti tathâ-cha-vidahâmi[.16] Hem-eva-savanikâyesu-paṭivekhâmi [. Savapâsaṁḍâ-pi-me-pûjita vivi dhâya-pûjâya[.] E-chu-iyaṁ-atana-pachûpagamane 17 se-me-mukhyamute[.] Saḍuvîsati ya-sâbhisitena-me iyaṁ-dhaṁmalipi khâpita[.18]

Mathia.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi-lâja hevaṁ-âha[:] duvâḍasavasâbhi-sitena-me dhaṁmalipi-likhâpita lokasa [16(1)] hitasukhâye[:] se-taṁ-apahaṭa taṁ-taṁ-dhaṁ-mavaḍhi-pâpova[.] Hevaṁ lo-kasa[17(2)] hitasukhe-ti paṭive-khâmi athâ-iyaṁ-nâtisu hevaṁ-patyâsaṁnesu hevaṁ-apakaṭhesu [,18(3)] kiṁmaṁ-kâni-sukhaṁ âvahâmî-ti tathâ-cha-vidahâmi [] Hem-eva savanikâyesu pa-tivekhâmi [.19(4)] Savapâsaṁ-ḍâ-pi-me-pûjita vividhâya-pûjâya [.] E-chu-iyaṁ atana pachû-pagamane [20(5)] se-me-mo-khyamute[.] Saḍuvîsati-vasâ-bhisitena-m iyaṁ-dhaṁmalipi likhâpita[.21(6)]

[62] The stroke which makes *pâpovâ* look like *pipovâ* is clearly due to an accidental scratch.

Translation.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—After I had been anointed twelve years,[a] I ordered religious edicts to be written for the welfare and happiness of the people, (*in order that the people*), giving up that (*unrighteousness which they practised*), might obtain a growth of the sacred law (*in*) this or that (*respect*).[b] (*Saying unto myself*) "the welfare and happiness of the people (*is concerned*)," I thus direct my attention not only to my relatives, but also to those who are near and far;[c]—why so? "In order that I may lead some of them[d] to happiness." In like manner I direct my attention to all bodies corporate.[e] I have also honoured men of all creeds with various honours.[63] But I consider that to be most essential, what (*I call*) 'the approach through one's own free will.[f] After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written.

Remarks on the Translation.

(*a*) *Dhaṁmalipi*, being a generic term, may refer to more than one edict. The edicts referred to are the third and fourth Rock Edicts. The former says, "when I had been anointed twelve years, I issued the following order," and the latter states with equal clearness at the end, "king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, ordered this to be written, when he had been anointed twelve years." The earlier part of Piyadasi's spiritual course is fixed by his own statements, as follows :—

(1) After the conquest of Kaliṅga in his ninth year he repented of his cruelty, and resolved to make no further conquests by the sword (Rock Edict XIII).

(2) In his eleventh year he began to hold an annual progress through his dominions in search of religious truth (Rock Edict VIII).

(3) In his thirteenth year he solemnly adopted the *Dhaṁma* or Sacred Law, *i.e.* those principles of morality which he enumerates so frequently (Rock Edict IV), and ordered it to be spread by his officials and his vassals on their annual tours through their districts (Rock Edict III).

(4) In his fourteenth year he appointed the Dhaṁmamahâmâtas or Superintendents of the Sacred Law. All this long precedes his conversion to Buddhism, which happened in or immediately after the twenty-ninth year of his reign.

(*b*) *Apahaṭâ* (D. S.) or *apahaṭa* is undoubtedly, as M. Senart suggests, equivalent to *apahṛitya* or *apahṛitvâ*. In my opinion it corresponds to the second form, just as *paṭiladdha*[64] (*Jâtaka*, iv, 46, 23) stands for *pratilabdhvâ*. With respect to the meaning I differ from M. Senart, as I take *apahṛi* in the sense of 'to avoid, to give up,' which it has not rarely in Sanskrit. *Taṁ*, the object of *apahaṭa*, stands for *tad*, and denotes 'that which the people used to do, before they were taught better.' The whole sentence down to *pâpovâ* gives briefly the contents of Rock Edict IV, and it would have been clearer if *ti* had been added at the end. I transliterate and explain the passage in Sans-

[63] Compare with this sentence the statements in the twelfth Rock Edict.

[64] The verse runs as follows :—*Saṁkappam etaṁ paṭiladdha pâpaṁ achchâhitaṁ kâmma karosi luddaṁ.*

krit as follows:—*Saḥ[loka ityarthaḥ] tad [kriyamâṇam adharmam ityarthaḥ] apahṛitya [parihṛityetyarthaḥ] tâṁ tâṁ dharmavṛiddhiṁ prâpnuyât.*

(*c*) The explanation of the statement that the king directs his attention to his relatives is given by the remarks in the fourth Rock Edict and the seventh Pillar Edict, according to which the gifts of his children, brothers and sisters were supervised by the Dhaṁmamahâmâtas. By "those who are near," Piyadasi probably means his Lajûkas and other officials, who are supervised and taught their duties by him, see the fourth Pillar Edict and the Separate Edicts. "Those who are far," *apakaṭha*, may be the wardens of the marches or perhaps the free borderers and the subjects of his friend the Yavana king Antiyoka, on whom Piyadasi conferred benefits according to the second Rock Edict, and whom he tried to convert to the Dhaṁma by ambassadors, as the thirteenth Rock Edict (Part ii) alleges.

(*d*) M. Senart has recognised that *kimaṁ* is equivalent to the very common phrase *kiṁti*. As R. M. read plainly *kiṁmaṁ*, I would suggest that *kimaṁ* too stands for *kimmaṁ*, and is a contraction of *kimva*, *i.e. kimiva*, with the not uncommon nasalisation of the last vowel.

(*e*) *Nikâya*, 'body corporate,' refers probably not only, as M. Senart suggests, to the classes of officials which are called *nikâyâ* in the twelfth Rock Edict, but also to the castes and sects called *nikâyâ* in the thirteenth Rock Edict.

(*f*) *Pachchûpagamana*, in Sanscrit *pratyupagamana*, might mean 'the return to,' but may also be taken as 'the approach towards.' The latter sense suits here best, and what is meant is the voluntary approach which one sect is to make towards the other in accordance with Piyadasi's recommendation in the twelfth Rock Edict:—"They shall hear each other's law and love to hear it. For it is the desire of the Beloved of the gods—what?—'that men of all creeds shall have heard much and possess holy doctrines.'"

Dehli-Sivalik Pillar.

EDICT VII, 1.

Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâjâ hevaṁ âhâ[:]ye-atikaṁtaṁ [11]
aṁtalaṁ lâjâne husu[,]hevaṁ ichhisu[:]kathaṁ-jane[12]
dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ vaḍheyâ[?] No-chu-jane anulupâyâ dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ[13]
vaḍhithâ[.] Etaṁ devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâjâ hevaṁ-âhâ[:] esa-me[14]
huthâ[,] atikaṁtaṁ-cha aṁtalaṁ hevaṁ ichhisu lâjâne kathaṁ-jane[15]
anulupâyâ dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ vaḍheyâ-ti[;] no-cha-jane anulupâyâ[16]
dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ vaḍhithâ[;] se-kina-su jane anupaṭipajeyâ[66][,17]
kina-su jane anulupâyâ dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ vaḍheyâ-ti[;]kina-su-kâni [18]
abhyuṁnâmayehaṁ dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ-ti[?] Etaṁ-devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâjâ hevaṁ [19]
âhâ[:]esa-me huthâ[,] dhaṁmasâvanâni sâvâpayâmi dhaṁmânusathini[20]
anus[â]sâmi[66][;] etaṁ-jane sutu anupaṭîpajîṣati abhyuṁnamisati[,21]

[66] The second *pa* of *anupaṭipajeyâ* stands above the line.

[66] This might be read *anusisâmi*, but I believe the blotched line above the *â*-stroke to be accidental. *Anusâsâmi* is also used by Aśoka elsewhere, *e.g.* Sep. Ed., II, 6, (8), etc.]

EDICT VII, 2.

dhaṃmavaḍhiyâ-cha bâḍhaṁ vaḍhisati[.] Etâye-me aṭhâye dhaṁmasâvanâni sâvâpitâni dhaṁmânusathini vividhâni ânapitâni yath[â me pul]isâ-pi[67] bahune[68] janasi âyatâ ete paliyovadisaṁti-pi pavithalisaṁti-pi[.] Laj[û]kâ-pi[69] bahukesu pânasatasahasesu âyatâ tepi-me ânapitâ[:] hevaṁ-cha hevaṁ-cha paliyovadâtha [1]

janaṁ dhaṁmayu[ta]ṁ[70][.] [D]e[v]ânaṁ-piye Piyadasi hevaṁ-âhâ[:] etam-eva-me anuvekhamâne dhaṁmathaṁbhâni-kaṭâni[,] dhaṁmanahâmâtâ-kaṭâ[,]dhaṁma[s]â[van]e[71]-kaṭe[.]Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâjâ-hevaṁ âhâ[:] magesu-pi-me nigohâni lopâpitâni[:] chhâyopagâni hosaṁti pasumunisânaṁ [;] aṁbâvaḍikyâ lopâpitâ [;]aḍhak[o]s[i]kyâni-pi-me-udupânâni[2]

khânâpâpitâni [;] niṁsidhiyâ-cha[72] kâlâpitâ[;]âpânâni-me bahukâni tata-tata kâlâpitâni paṭîbhogâye pasumunisânaṁ[.] La[huke chu][73] esa paṭîbhoge nâma[74] [.] Vividhâyâ-hi sukhâyanâyâ pulimehi-pi lâjîhi mamayâ-cha sukhayite loke[.] Imaṁ-chu dhaṁmânupaṭîpatî anupaṭîpajaṁtu-ti[;] etadathâ-me[3]

esa-kaṭe[.] Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi hevaṁ âhâ[:] dhaṁmamahâmâtâ-pi-me t[e]-bahuvidhesu[75] aṭhesu ânugahikesu viyâpaṭâ-se pavajîtanaṁ-cheva gihithânaṁ-cha[;]sava-[pâsaṁ]ḍesu-pi-cha[76] viyâpaṭâ-se[.] Saṁghaṭhasi-pi-me kaṭe ime viyâpaṭâ hohaṁti-ti [;] hemeva bâbhanesu Âjîvikesu-pi-me kaṭe[4]

ime viyâpaṭâ hohaṁti-ti[.] Nigaṁṭhesu-pi-me kaṭe ime viyâpaṭâ hohaṁti [;] nânâ-pâsaṁḍesu-pi-me kaṭe ime viyâpaṭâ hohaṁti-ti [.] Paṭivisiṭhaṁ paṭîvisiṭhaṁ tesu-tesu te-[t]e [ma]hâmâtâ[.]. Dhaṁmamahâmâtâ-chu-me etesu-cheva viyâ[pa]ṭâ savesu-cha aṁnesu pâsaṁḍesu[.] Devânaṁ-piye Piyadasi lâjâ-hevaṁ âhâ[:5]

ete-chá aṁne-cha bahukâ mukhâ dânavisagasi viyâpaṭa-se mama-cheva devinaṁ-cha[;] savasi-cha-me olodhanasi te-bahuvidhena â[kâ]lena[75] tâni tâni tuṭhâyatan[â]ni paṭî-[pâdayaṁti] hida-cheva disâsu-cha[.] Dâlakânaṁ-pi-cha-me kaṭe aṁnânaṁ-cha devikumâlânaṁ ime dânavisagesu viyâpaṭâ hohaṁti-ti[6]

dhaṁmâpadânaṭhâye dhaṁmânupaṭipatiye[.] Esa-hi dhaṁmâpadâne dhaṁmapaṭîpati-cha yâ-iyaṁ dayâ dâne sache sochave madave sâdha[ve]-cha lokasa hevaṁ vaḍhisati-ti[.]

[67] Faintly visible are, both on Dr. Fleet's facsimile and on Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, the following letters—*ya tha . . . i* and the left-hand curve of *sâ*, while the right half of *sâ* is quite plain. The restoration is not doubtful, because there is exactly room for three lost consonants and because the phrase *pulisâ-pi-me* "my servants" occurs above Pillar Edict, I, l. 7 (D. S.), l. 3 (A), and elsewhere. From Professor Kern's analysis of this edict, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 385, I infer that he would restore the passage in the same manner.

[68] *Bahune* is possibly a clerical mistake for *bahuke*. But it may be defended by the locative *punâvasune* above,—v. 16, 18 (D. S.).

[69] The quantity of the second vowel of *lajûkâ* is not certain.

[70] The last syllable of *dhaṁmayutaṁ* has been placed more than an inch from the rest, because there is a flaw in the stone.

[71] The restoration has been made correctly by M. Senart. The rubbing shows the *â*-stroke distinctly, and the facsimile has the final *e*.

[72] The continuation of the same flaw in the stone, which caused the separation of the syllables *dhaṁmayu* and *taṁ* in l. 2, has here made necessary the division *niṁsi ḍhiyâ* (not *ḍhayâ*). Of course, nothing has been lost.

[73] The initial *la* (not *sa*) is perfectly plain, both on the facsimile and on the rubbing: Between *la* and *esa*, three, or possibly four, syllables have been lost. The phrase was, therefore, either *lahuke chu esa* or *lahuke chu kho esa*, compare Rock Edict, XIII, 2, l. 14 (Kâlsî), *lahukâ vu kho sâpiti*, and below, l. 9, *tata chu lahu-se dhaṁmaniyame*.

[74] The *nâ* of *nâma* stands above the line, and has been added afterwards as a correction.

[75] Though the *ta* is damaged at the top, it seems probable, both according to the rubbing and the facsimiles, that the reading was *te*. The *se* after *viyâpaṭâ* is, of course, not required. Compare also the first clause in l. 5, where another redundant *se* occurs.

[76] The restoration has been given correctly by M. Senart.

Devânam-piye [Piyada]s[i] lâjâ hevâṁ-âhâ[:] yâṇi-hi-kâṇi-chi mamiyâ sâdhavâṇi kaṭâṇi taṁ-loke anûpatîpaṁne taṁ-cha anuvidhiyaṁti[;]tena vaḍhitâ-cha[7]
vaḍhisaṁti-cha mâtâpitisu sususâyâ gulusu sususâyâ vayomahâlakânaṁ anupaṭîpatiyâ bâbhanasamanesu kapanavalâkesu âva dâsabhaṭakesu saṁpaṭîpatiyâ[.] Devânaṁ-piy[e Pi]yadasi lâjâ hevaṁ-âhâ[:] munisânaṁ-chu yâ-iyam dhaṁmavaḍhi vaḍhitâ duvehi-yeva âkâlehi dhaṁmaniyamena-cha nijhatiyâ-cha[.8]
Taṭa-chu lahu-se dhaṁmaniyame[,] nijhatiyâ-va bhuye[.] Dhaṁmaniyame-chu-kho esa ye-me iyam-kaṭe imâni-cha imâni[77] jâtâni avadhiyâni[,] aṁnâni-pi-chu bahu[kâni] dhaṁmaniyamâni yâni-me kaṭâni[.] Nijhatiyâ-va-chu bhuye munisânaṁ dhaṁmavaḍhi vaḍhitâ avihiṁsâye bhutânaṁ[9]
anâlaṁbhâye pânânaṁ [.] Se-etaye aṭhâye iyaṁ kaṭe [,] putâpapotike chaṁda-masuliyike hotu-ti [,] tathâ-cha anupaṭîpajaṁtu-ṭi [.] Hevaṁ-hi anupaṭîpajaṁtaṁ hidata[pâla]te âladhe hoti [.] Satavisativasâbhisitena me iyaṁ dhaṁmalibi likhâpâ-pitâ-ti [.] Etaṁ devânaṁ-piye âhâ :] iyaṁ [10]
dhaṁmalibi aṭa aṭhi silâthaṁbhâni-vâ silâphalakâni-vâ ṭata kaṭaviyâ ena esa chila-ṭhitike siyâ [11].

TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"Those kings who lived during the past ages conceived this wish, 'Might mankind in some way grow the growth of the sacred law,'[a] But mankind did not grow a befitting growth of the sacred law."

Concerning this[b] (*matter*) king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"This (thought) came to me, 'On the one hand kings conceived during the past ages this wish, Might mankind in some way grow a befitting growth of the sacred law!' On the other hand mankind did not grow a befitting growth of the sacred law. By what means then would mankind (*be moved*) to obey? By what means would mankind grow a befitting growth of the sacred law? By what means may I raise up[c] some among them to (*grow*) the growth of the sacred law?"

Concerning this (*matter*) king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"This (*thought*) came to me "Sermons on the sacred law I will order to be preached; instruction in the sacred law I will order to be given. When men hear it, they will obey, they will raise themselves,[d] and mightily they will grow the growth of the sacred law." For this purpose I have ordered sermons on the sacred law to be preached, and have directed various instructions on the sacred law to be given, so that [*even my servants*] who dwell (*as rulers*) among many men, shall give instruction and expand it. Even the *lajûkas* who dwell (*as rulers*) among many hundred thousands of souls, even they have been ordered by me,[e] "Instruct (*my*) loyal people[f] in this way and in that."

Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

"Having regard to this same matter,[78] I have erected pillars of the sacred law, I have appointed superintendents of the sacred law, I have ordered to be preached [*sermons on*] the sacred law."

[77] Read *imâni cha*, as the sense requires.

[78] *Etam-eva-me anuvekhamâne* (*i.e., anvavekshyamânam*) may be explained as a nominative absolute, analogous to *avijitaṁ hi vijinamane*, Rock Edict XIII (l. 36, k.). But it is not impossible that *anuvekhamânena* (*i.e. anvavekshamâṇena*) was what Aśoka really wrote.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"I have also planted banian-trees on the high-roads, (*intending that*) they shall give shade to men and beasts. I have planted mango-gardens.[79] I have also ordered wells to be dug at every half *kos*[g] and I have ordered rest-houses[h] to be built; and I have ordered many watering stations[i] to be made here and there for the enjoyment of men and beasts. [*But something small indeed is*] this so-called enjoyment. Both former kings and myself have blessed the world with various blessings. But I have done (*all*) this (*in order*) that men may render their obedience to the sacred law."

Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"My superintendents of the sacred law are also occupied with the various matters of grace, affecting both ascetics and householders; and they are likewise occupied with men of all creeds. I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the affairs of the Saṁgha[j]; likewise I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Brahmanical Âjîvikas; I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Nigaṁṭhas; I have arranged it that they will be occupied with (*all*) the manifold creeds. Various officials (*have been appointed*) for various (*classes of men and purposes*) in accordance with the several requirements. But my superintendents of the sacred law are occupied both with those (*mentioned*) and with the men of all creeds."

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

Both these and many other chief officials[80] are occupied with the distribution of gifts, both my own and those of the queens; and in my whole harem they [*point out*] various ways the manifold sources of contentment[k] both here (*in Pâṭaliputra*) and in the distance. And I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the distribution of the gifts both of my sons and of the other princes[l] in order (*to promote*) noble deeds in accordance with the sacred law and obedience to the sacred law. For, these are noble deeds in accordance with the sacred law and this is action in accordance with the sacred law, whereby compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness and holiness will thus[81] grow among men."

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"Whatever works of holiness I have worked, these men have followed, and these they will imitate in future; and thereby they have grown and will grow in future in obedience towards parents, in obedience towards venerable men, in reverence towards the aged, in proper conduct towards Brahmans and ascetics, towards the poor and the wretched, even towards slaves and servants."

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—

"But men have grown this growth of the sacred law in two ways, (*viz.*) through restrictive religious rules and through deep meditation[m]. But, among these two[82] the restrictive religious rules are something small, more (*is worked*) by deep meditation.

[79] Regarding the short *a* of °*vaḍikyâ* see note 17 on the Queen's Edict, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 123, where it has been pointed out that the corresponding *aṁbâvaḍikâ* may stand for *aṁbâvaḍḍikâ*. Regarding the long *â* of *ambâ*, see below, note 20.

[80] *Mukhâ* has either been used in the sense of *mukha*, m, a leader (see the smaller *Pet. Dict.*, sub voce), or it stands for *mukkhâ* and corresponds to *mukhyâḥ* 'chiefs,' *i.e.* 'officials of high rank.'

[81] *Thus*, *i.e.* in the manner desired by the king.

[82] *Tatâ*, *i.e.* *tatra*, has here, as often in Sanskrit, a distributive sense, and *tata-cha* is equivalent to *tayostu*.

But the restrictive religious rules, indeed, are these, that I have ordered various kinds of creatures to be exempt from slaughter;[83] but there are also numerous other restrictive religious rules which I have imposed. But by deep meditation the growth of the sacred law has been increased more among men, so that they do not injure created beings, so that they do not slaughter living creatures."

For the following purpose these (*orders*) have been issued, (*viz.*) that they may last as long as my sons and "great-grandsons reign", as long as moon and sun endure, and that men may act accordingly. If man obeys them in this manner, happiness has been gained both in this world and the next. I have caused this religious edict to be written after I had been anointed twenty-seven years.

Concerning this the Beloved of the gods speaks (*thus*) :—

"This religious edict must be incised there, where either stone pillars or stone tablets are found, in order that it may endure for a long time."

Remarks on the Translation.

(*a*) As the preceding clause states that the kings "conceived a wish," it is not possible to take *kathaṁ* as an interrogative adverb. It must have the sense of an indefinite pronoun, just as *káni* has more frequently.

(*b*) Though it is perhaps not absolutely impossible to take *etaṁ* with M. Senart as equivalent to *itra* or *atra*, I prefer to explain it by *etad*, and to assume that we have here the "accusative of relation," which, as Professor Delbrück has shown (*Altindische, Syntax*, p. 165f.), appears not rarely with verbs of speaking, wishing, considering and the like.

(*c*) *Abhyumnámayehaṁ* is the future with the meaning of the subjunctive (see Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 266f., and especially the quotation from the *Rámáyaṇa* under *b*). *E* for *i* appears similarly in *paridahessati*, etc. (see E. Müller: *Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language*, p. 118).

(*d*) *Abhyumnamisati* may be either the future of the active *abhyunnamati*, or, equivalent to *abhyumnammissati*, the future of the passive of the causative *abhyunnamayati*. The use of the active *unnamati*, *abhyunnamati*, *pronnamati*, and so forth, in the sense of 'to rise up,' is the usual one both in Sanskrit and in the Prakrits.

(*e*) *Lajúka* means literally 'a writer, clerk,' and denotes here probably a high official, taken from the writer caste (see note 1 to my German translation of Rock Edict III). Regarding the meaning of *áyatá* note 2 to my German translation of the Sep. Ed. I, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLI.

(*f*) *Paliyovadátha* is one of the few instances of the Vedic subjunctive, preserved in the old Prakrits of India (see Professor Pischel in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. XXIII, p. 424, and Professor E. Müller, *Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language*, p. 108).

(*g*) *Aḍhakosikyáni* corresponds to a Sanskrit *árdhakrośikíyáni*. The krośa or *kos* meant here, must be that equal to 8,000 Hastas, or half a *gavyúti*, which thus corresponds to the so-called *Sultáná kos* of 3 English miles. The ordinary *kos*, equal to one and a half or one and three-quarter miles, cannot be meant, as the wells would come to close to each other.

[83] See above, Pillar Edict V.

(*h*) *Nimsiḍhiyá* no doubt stands for *nisiḍhiyá*, just like the Pali *mahimsa* for *mahisa*, and is an equivalent of *nishidiyá*, 'dwelling,' which occurs in the Nâgârjunî Hill Cave inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, p. 364f., in the compound *vâshanishidiyâye*. Both *nimsiḍhiyá* and *nishidiyá* are Pali representatives of the Sanskrit *nishadyá*, "a couch, a market-hall." They have, however, been derived not from the root *nishad*, but from the stem of the present tense *nishíd*. The lingual *ḍha* of *nimsiḍhiyá* is due to the influence of the original *sha* of *nishídyá*. The Jainas use closely allied words *niśídhi*, *nishiḍhi* and *nisiḍhi* for the last resting-place, the ornamental tombs, of their saints, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 99. *Nimsiḍhiyá* denotes here, of course, the public rest-houses or serais, which are found at certain distances on most Indian high-roads and which are frequently built *dharmârtham* by benevolent and rich men. Ushavadâta, the pious son-in-law of the Satrap and king Nahapâna boasts in the Nasik inscriptions, *Rep. Arch. Surv. West Ind.* vol. IV, p. 99, that he erected many such buildings.

(*i*) *Ápâna* cannot have here its usual meaning "tavern, liquor-shop." As Professor Kern, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 385, assumes, it must denote a watering station. Probably the huts on the roads are meant, where water is distributed to travellers and their beasts gratis or against payment. The usual Sanskrit name is *prapá*.

(*j*) *Saṁgha*, of course, denotes the order of Buddhist monks. The Âjîvikas are probably, as Professor Kern assumes, orthodox Vaishṇava ascetics, see my discussion of the question in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, p. 362. The Nigaṁṭhas are the Jaina ascetics or Nirgranthas. I take *paṭivisiṭhaṁ paṭivisiṭhaṁ*, "according to the several requirements" in the sense of *prativiśesham*, (see the smaller *Petersburg Dict.* sub voce). *Tesu-tesu*, literally "for these and those," probably refers not only to various classes of men, but also to various purposes, for which the unnamed officials were appointed. Compare the end of Rock Edict XII, where the Superintendents of women, the Vachabhûmikas and other bodies of officials are mentioned.

(*k*) I here follow Professor Kern, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 386, who takes *tuṭhâyatanâni*, *i.e. tushṭyâyatanâni*, "sources of contentment," in the sense of "opportunities for charity." Such opportunities are to be pointed out to all the inmates of the king's harem. With this interpretation the necessity of the restoration *paṭí* [*pâdayaṁti*] is self-evident.

(*l*) *Devikumála* 'prince' means literally 'son of a queen,' *i.e.* of such a lady who has the title *devî*. As the sons of the king have been mentioned separately, it follows that 'the princes' are the sons of the wives of Piyadasi's predecessors, *i.e.* his brothers and possibly his paternal uncles. In the parallel passage, Rock Edict V, Piyadasi names 'his brothers, sisters and other relatives.'

(*m*) M. Senart has no doubt correctly explained *nijhati* as a derivative from the causative of *nidhyâi* and appropriately translated it by "reflexion." It is equivalent to Sanskrit *nididhyâsanâ* "reflexion, deep meditation," which is derived by other affixes from the same verb.

(*n*) In *putápapotike* the nominative of the plural *putá* takes the place of the stem just as in *aṁbá-vaḍikyá*, above *l.* 2. Similarly the nominative singular frequently takes the place of the stem in the inscriptions from Mathurâ, *ante*, vol. I, p. 371 ff. Rare instances occur also in Pali. Thus we have, *Jât.* iv, 184, 18, *sakhâbhariyaṁ*, 'the wife of a friend.'

XXI.—THE MAHÂBAN PRAŚASTÍ OF SAMVAT 1207.

By G. Bühler, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined inscription is identical with that which I have published, *ante*, vol. I, p. 287, under the title *Mathurâ Praśasti of the Reign of Vijayapâla*, according to an impression, furnished to me by Dr. A. Führer and described as an 'Inscription on black basalt recovered from Keśava mound at Mathurâ, 10th February 1889.'

Shortly after the publication of my article Dr. Führer wrote to me that he did not agree with my restoration of the king's name as Vijayapâla, because he had obtained lately from Mahâban another small inscription of the same period, which showed a different reading. His remarks induced me to look over Sir A. Cunningham's notices of Mahâban in the *Archæological Survey Reports*, where I found the facsimile[1] of a much more complete version of this supposed *Mathurâ Praśasti*, and the statement that the document had been obtained at Mahâban in 1882-83; my friend, Professor Kielhorn, likewise pointed it out to me. For some time I thought that Dr. Führer's inscription, in which the central portion has been rubbed out by the stone being used for grinding spices or *dâl* and a large piece at the right-hand corner has been broken off, might be a duplicate of Sir A. Cunningham's. But this theory became doubtful, when in answer to my enquiries Dr. Führer stated that Sir A. Cunningham's stone was not traceable at Mahâban. And it became absolutely untenable, when some time ago Dr. J. Burgess found Sir A. Cunningham's impression from which his lithograph was prepared. A comparison with Dr. Führer's impression shows that the latter has, in the portions preserved, all the minor abrasions which are found on Sir A. Cunningham's slab, whereby the identity of the two originals is established. It would now seem that, after Sir A. Cunningham's impression was taken in 1882-83, the stone was taken away from Mahâban, used as a grinding stone by somebody, and finally brought as a find from the Keśava mound to Dr. Führer, who in 1889 received quite a number of fragments[2] from the railway-workmen at Mathurâ.

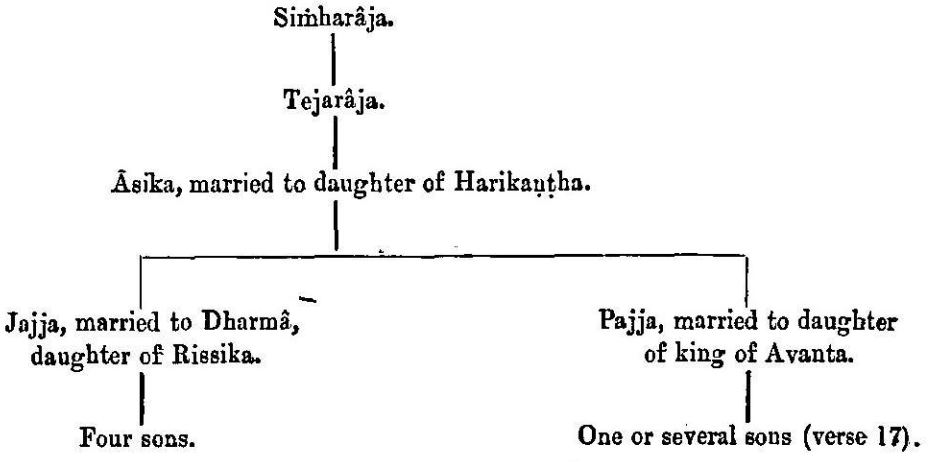
I now re-edit the inscription according to Sir A. Cunningham's impression, which is reproduced in the accompanying plate and permits me to give a much better version.

As regards the contents of the inscription, it is now plain that it refers to the erection of a temple at Mahâban. The paramount king, mentioned in the colophon, is probably, as Sir A. Cunningham has stated, *op. cit.*, vol. XX, p. 42, Ajayapâla, not Vijayapâla. And he may belong to the Yaduvaṁśî dynasty of Bayânâ-Śrîpathâ (see the pedigree *op. cit.*, p. 7). This view, which Sir A. Cunningham has put forward, is confirmed by the fact that Dr. Führer's above mentioned new inscription from

[1] Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XX, pl. x.

[2] The use of the slab for grinding condiments upon is perfectly evident from the impression, where a round piece in the centre is blank, and at the sides the deeper strokes of the letters are visible, while the shallower ones have disappeared. Dr. Führer has also sent me squeezes of several other fragments, which bear in pencil the dates when they came into his hands. One which is unfortunately very small shows the name of *parameśvara-śrî-Sîlâdityadeva* and may belong to the seventh century.

Mahâban shows the name of Ajayapâla's successor Haripâla and the date Saṁvat 1227. The pedigree of the Râjput who built the temple now stands as follows:—



TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. ओं ॥ ओं [ग]णपतये[3] नमः ।
दिश्यात्स वः कैरवकु — — —
— यांसि[4] दंतो द्विरदाननस्य [।]
विजित्य विघ्नानिव — ो — शंके (?)
मुखे समाधातुमुपाहितो यः [॥१]

L. 2. [शौ]रेः कज्जलकांतिरस्त्वसिलता भूत्यै र— — —:[5] करा-
त्कालिंदीव समुद्गता सरभसं या स्वर्द्धुनीस्पर्द्धया ।
यत्रा[न्त]र्ज्जलमानुषीव कमला डिण्डीरपिण्डो-

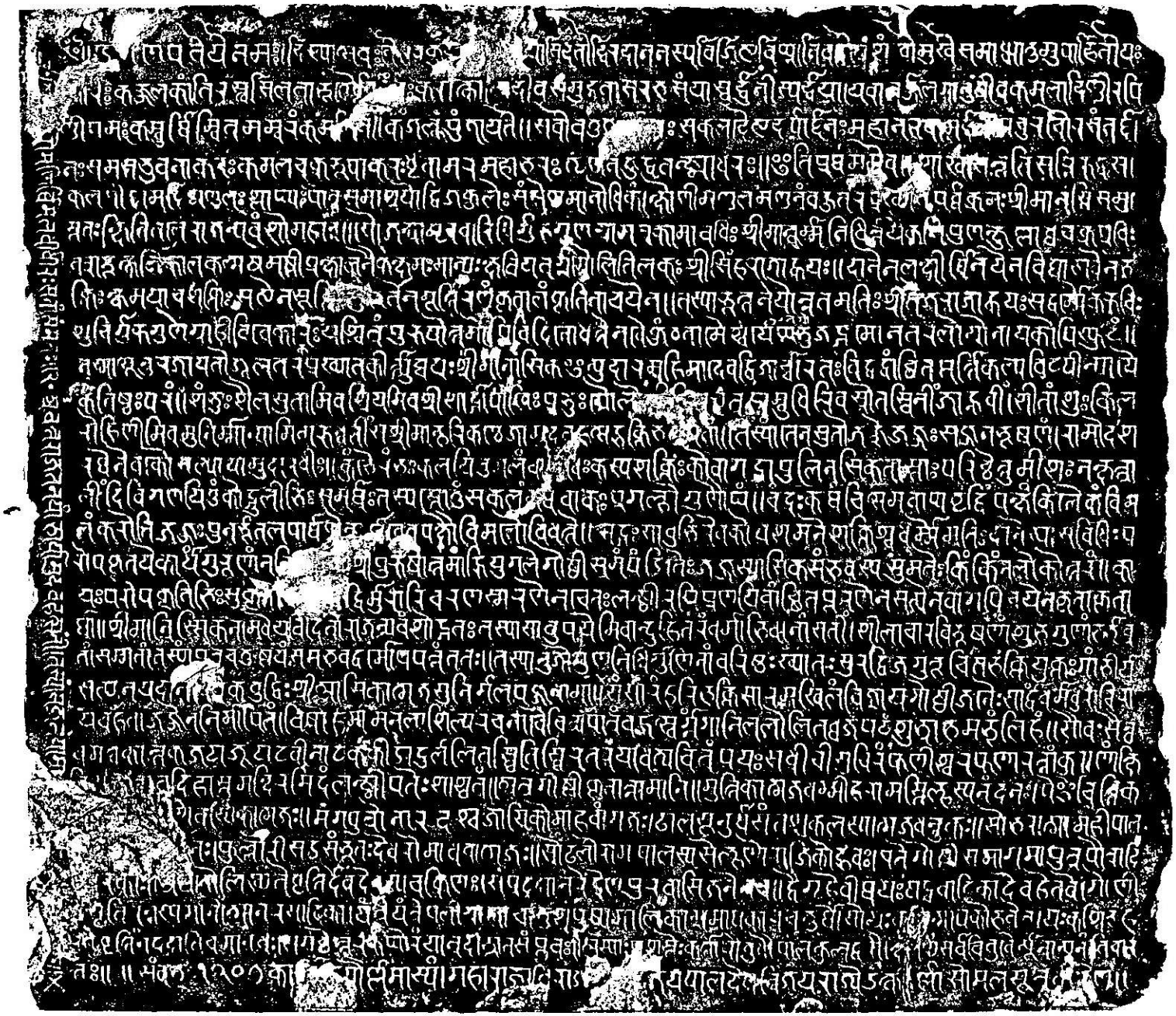
L. 3. पमः
कस्तुर्व्विंम्बितमम्बरं क[मलिनी]किंजल्कपुंजायते[6] ॥ [२]
स वोवतु ज — — —: सकलदैत्यदर्पार्द्दनः
महानर[क]मर्द्द[नः] प्रचुरचौरसंतर्द्द-

L. 4. नः [।]
समस्तभुवनाकरः कमलचक्रभूषाकरः
धृतामरमहाभरः तृ[ण]वदुद्धृतच्छाधरः ॥ [३][7]
इति प्रथममेव ॥
शाखा[स]न्ततिसन्निरुद्धस-

L. 5. कलप्रोद्दामदिग्मण्डलः
श्लाघ्यः पा[न्थ]समाश्रयो द्विजकुलैः संसेव्यमानोधिकं ।

[3] Read गणपतये. On Dr. Führer's impression the *e*-stroke above the *ta* has almost disappeared.
[4] Restore कैरवकुड्मलाभः श्रेयांसि.
[5] Restore चिरं वः.
[6] Read किंजल्कपुंजायते ।.
[7] Read 'दर्प हर्नी ;—भूषाकरो ;— °महाभरसृ° ;—Restore जनार्द्दनः.

MAHABAN PRAŚASTI OF SAṀVAT 1207.



From Gen. Sir A Cunningham's impression. *Scale: 1-3rd of original.*

क्षोणीमण्डलमण्डनं बहुतरप्र[ख्यात]पर्व्वक्रमः
श्रीमानस्ति समु-

L. 6. भ्रतः क्षितितले राजन्यवंशो महान् ॥ [४]
सौजन्यामृतवारिधिर्गुरुगुणग्रामप्रकामावधिः
श्रीमान्धर्म्मनिधिर्न्नयैकनिपुणक्षुण्णाध्वचक्रप्रधिः [।]

L. 7. तत्राभूत्कलिकालकल्मषमषीप्रक्षालनैकश्रमः
मान्यः क्षत्रियवर्ग्गमौलितिलकः श्रीसिंहराजाह्वयः ॥ [५][8]
दानेन लक्ष्मीर्व्विनयेन विद्या
भावेन भ-

L. 8. क्तिः क्षमया च शक्तिः [।]
सत्येन सूक्ति — — तेन मूर्त्ति-
रलंकृतालं कृतिना च येन [॥६॥][9]
तस्याभूत्तनयो नयोन्नतमतिः श्रीतेजराजाह्वयः
सद्धर्म्मैकरुचिः

L. 9. शुचिर्गुरुगुणग्राही विवेकाकरः ।
यश्चित्रं पुरुषोत्तमोपि विदितो धत्ते न वैकुण्ठता-
मैश्वर्य्यप्यभुजङ्गमो न तरलो यो नायकोपि स्फुटं ॥ [७][10]

L. 10. तस्मात्सूनुरजायतोज्वलतरप्रख्यातकीर्त्युच्चयः
श्रीमानासिक इत्युदारमहिमा देवद्विजार्च्चारतः [।]
विद्वद्वांच्छितपूर्त्तिकल्पविटपी न्यायैकनिष्ठः परं ॥

L. 11. — — — — — रोमणिर्व्विमलधीर्धीरः सतां संमतः ॥[11] [८]
शंभुः शैलसुतामिव श्रियमिव श्रीशार्ङ्गपाणिः प्रभुः
पौलो[मोमिव] द्वत्रहाम्बुधिरिव स्रोतस्विनीं जाह्नवीं ।
शीतांशुः किल

L. 12. रोहिणीमिव मुनिर्म्मान्यामिवारुन्धतीं
स श्रीमान्हरिकण्ठजामुदवहत्सङ्गक्तिभ — — तां ॥ [९][12]
तस्यां तेन सुतो जज्ञे जज्ञः सज्जनभूषणं ।
रामो दश-

L. 13. रथेनेव कौ[स]ल्यायामुदारधीः ॥ [१०]
कुंभैरंभः कलयितुमलं वा[रि]धेः कस्य शक्तिः
को वा गङ्गापुलिनसिकतास्ताः परिच्छेत्तुमीशः [।]
नक्षत्रा-

[8] According to Cunningham's rubbing one might read श्रीमाञ्कर्म्म°, but Führer's gives plainly °धर्म्म

[9] Restore सूक्तिः सुकृतेन मूर्त्ति°.

[10] The second नयो° and the second क्ष of विवेकाकरः stand below the line.

[11] The last Pâda stands in the margin, and there is a mark after परं in order to indicate the lacuna. Restore क्षोणीपालशिरोमणि°.

[12] Read श्रीशार्ङ्गपाणिः.—Restore सङ्गक्तिभारानतां.

L. 14. लों दिवि गणयितुं कोङ्गुलीभिः समर्थः
तस्य स्तोतुं सकल[म]य वा कः प्रगल्भः गुणौघं [॥११।
चंद्रः कथंचित्समवाप्य वृद्धिं
पक्षं किलैकं विम-
L. 15. लं करोति [।]
जज्जः पुनर्भूतलपार्व्व — —
द्वावेव पक्षौ विमलौ विधत्ते ॥ [१२][13]
सङ्गः साधुभिरेव कोपशमने शक्तिश्च धर्म्मे मतिः
दानेभ्यासविधिः प-
L. 16. रोपकृतये कार्यं गुरूणां न[तिः।]
— — श्रीपुरुषोत्तमांघ्रियुगले गोष्ठी समं पंडितैः
जज्जस्यासिकसंभवस्य सुमतेः किं किं न लोकोत्तरं ॥ [१३][14]
का-
L. 17. यः परोपकृतिभिः सुकृतो ◡ — ◡
— द्विर्मुरारिचरणस्मरणेन चेतः [।]
लक्ष्मीरपि प्रणयिवांच्छितपूरणेन
सत्येन वागपि च येन कृता कृता-
L. 18. र्थाः ॥ [१४][15]
श्रीमान्निस्सिकनामधेयविदितो राजन्यवंशोद्भवः
तस्यासावुपयेमिवान्दुहितरं धर्माभिधानां सतीं ।
शीलाचारविभूषणां शुभगुणां भर्तृव्र-
L. 19. तां सम्मतां
तस्यां [पुत्र]चतुष्टयं समभवद्धर्मोपपन्नं ततः ॥ [१५]
तस्यानुजो गुणनिधिर्गुणिनां वरिष्ठः
ख्यातः सुरद्विजगुरूचितभक्तियुक्तः [।]
गांभीर्य-
L. 20. सत्यनयदान[विवे]कबुद्धिः
श्रीआसिकात्मजसुनिर्मलपज्जनामा ॥ × [१६]
अवन्तराजतनयां भार्यामुद्वहत्सतीं ।
तस्यां स जनयामास × × × × ◡ — ◡ ⏑ ॥ × [१७][16]
संसारं हरिभक्तिसारमखिलं विज्ञाय गोष्ठीजनैः
सार्द्धं धर्मधुरां चिरा-
L. 21. य बृहता जज्जेन निर्मापितं ।
विष्णोर्हर्म्यमनल्पशिल्परचनावैचित्र्यपात्रं बृह-

[13] The reading of the stone seems to have been पार्व्वणेन्दुः.
[14] Restore भक्तिः श्रीपुरुषो°.
[15] Restore सुकृतोदयेन बुद्धिर्भु°.
[16] Verse 17 stands in the margin, and is preceded by the figure 20, which refers to the line where it is to be inserted.

स्वर्गंगानिललोलितध्वजपटं शुभ्राभमभ्रंलिहं ॥ [१८]
सौव:सैन्ध-

L. 22. वमन्धकान्तकजटाजूटाटवीनाटक-
क्रीडादुर्ललितस्थितिस्थिरतरं यावत्पवित्रं पय: [।]
सध्रोची सुचिरं फणीश्वरफणारत्नांकुराणां चि-

L. 23. f—
°— —वदिहास्तु मन्दिरमिदं लक्ष्मीपते: शाश्वतं ॥ [१९]
अत्र गोष्ठीकृतान्नामानि ॥
सुत्तिकात्मजधम्मीह रामस्तिल्हस्य नंदन: ।
पेइचित्तक-

L. 24. — — ◡ × × णो वस्सिकात्मज: ॥ [२०]
मंगपुत्रो नारदश्च जासिको माहवांगज: ।
ढोलसूनुर्वसंतश्च कलस्यात्मजधन्तुक: ॥ [२१]
सोभरात्मा महीपाल:

L. 25. × × × × ◡ — ◡ न: ।
फुल्लोरो सडसंभूत: देधरो माधवात्मज: ॥ [२२]
सोढलो रामपालस्य सेल्हणो राजिकोद्भव: ।
एते गोष्ठीं समागम्य पुत्रपौत्रादि-

L. 26. — [रि]का: ॥ [२३]
[अथा]तो लिख्यते वृत्तिर्देवदेवस्य चक्रिण: ।
संप्रदत्ता नरेन्द्रेण पुरवासिजने[न च] ॥ [२४]
द्वे गृहे वीथय: षट्त्र वाटिका देवहेतवे ।
गोणी-

L. 27. [प्र]सृतिरन्नस्य मानोन्मानरसादिका ॥ [२५]
यंत्रे यंत्रे पली [ग्राह्या] चा[तुश] पुष्पमालिकात् ।
मापकाच्च चतुर्थांसो य: क[ंचि]न्मापको भवेत [।२६
य: कश्चित् ह-

L. 28. रतं वृत्तिं न ददाति च मानव: ।
स गच्छेन्नर[कं] घोरं यावदाभूतसंप्लव: ॥ [२७][19]
अस्या: [प्र]शस्ते: कर्त्तारौ वुधौ पालकुलधरौ ।
[चं]तव्यं सर्वविवुधैर्न्यूनान्यूनं विचार-

L. 29. त: ॥ १८]
संवत् १२०७ कार्ति° — पौर्णमास्यां महाराजाधिराज — —
जयपालदेवविजयराज्ये उत्कीर्णा सोमलसूत्र[धारि]ण ॥

[17] Restore चितिर्यावत्तावदि°.
[18] चातुश can, of course, not be correct. Read चतुर्थो शो.
[19] The last word is probably meant for यावदाभूतसंप्लवं.

XXII.—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM BENGAL.

By Paul Horn, Ph. D., Strassburg.

As in my previous paper on Muhammadan inscriptions from the Ṣûba of Dihlî, I have reproduced the texts of the inscriptions as they are found on the stone, adding no wanting dots, *tashdîds, etc.*, except in the first six inscriptions.

1.—Bhâgalpûr.

The history of Bhâgalpûr during the first four centuries of Muhammadan rule offers nothing very remarkable. The first inscription below of the time of Maḥmûd Shâh ibn Ibrâhim Shâh of Jaunpûr, is of value, because it shows that Bhâgalpûr in the ninth Hijrat century belonged to the Sharqî kingdom, as did also Bihâr (*vide* below). In A. H. 982 it came into the possession of Akbar (*Akbarnâma, III*, 108). Further information regarding the place has been collected by C. J. O'Donnell in W. W. Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. XIV, p. 82.

The inscriptions Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are of little historical value; they bear the dates of the years 1032 (reign of Jahângîr), 1130 (reign of Farrukh Siyar) and 1793 A.D. The last falls in the period of English rule.

The first inscription[1] is engraved on a black basalt slab, fixed on a tomb in a garden belonging to Rânî Bîbî in Mâṇda Roga Maḥalla, Bhâgalpûr; it is no longer *in situ;* the stone measures 36 inches by 18 inches; the size of the inscribed part is 30 by 13 inches.

قال النّبي عليه السّلام من بني مسجدًا فى الدّنيا بني الله له قصرا فى الجنّة فى زمن ملك العادل محمود
شاه السّلطان بنا كرده اين مسجد خانمعظم خرشيد خان سر نوبت غير محليّان فى العاشر من [2]جمادالاوّل سنه
خمسين و ثمانماية

Translation.

'The Prophet—may God's blessing be upon him!—says 'He who builds a mosque in this world, God will build for him a castle in Paradise'. During the time of the just king Maḥmûd Shâh the honoured Khân Khurshêd Khân, head of the guardians outside the palace, has built this mosque on the tenth of Jumâdi'l awwal, year 850 H. (3rd August 1446).'

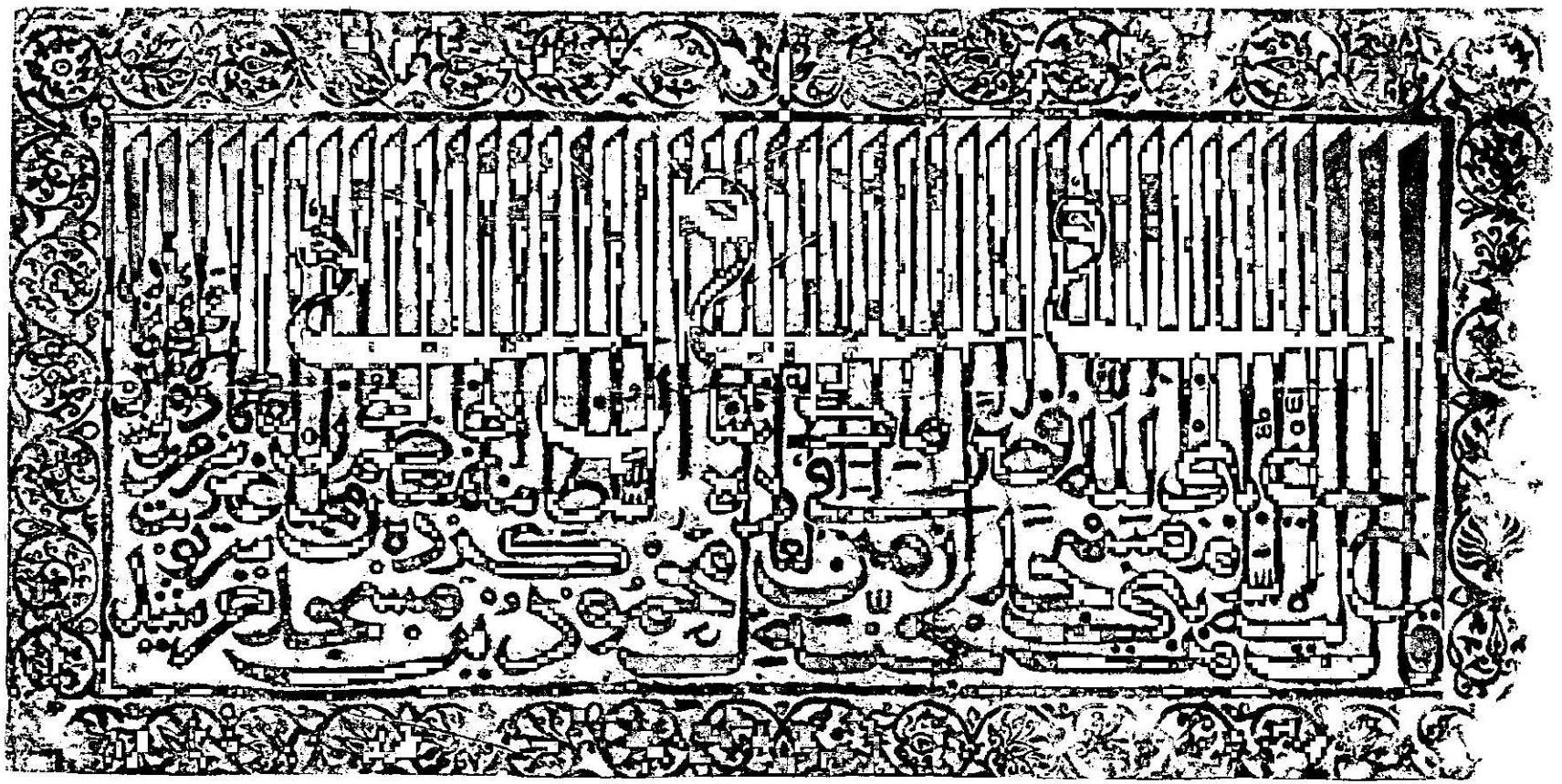
The arrangement of the words on the stone is not quite regular, and the deciphering is therefore more difficult than it seems at first sight. I have found no information relative to Khurshêd Khân, whose title *sar-î naubat-î ghair-maḥallîân* I have translated according to Blochmann (*Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XLI, p. 106, vol. XLII., p. 273, note).

2. The second inscription has already been published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, December 1873, p. 200. It is on a *Dargâh* called the Maskan-î Barârî or Makhdûm Shâh's Dargâh in Champanâgar near Bhâgal-

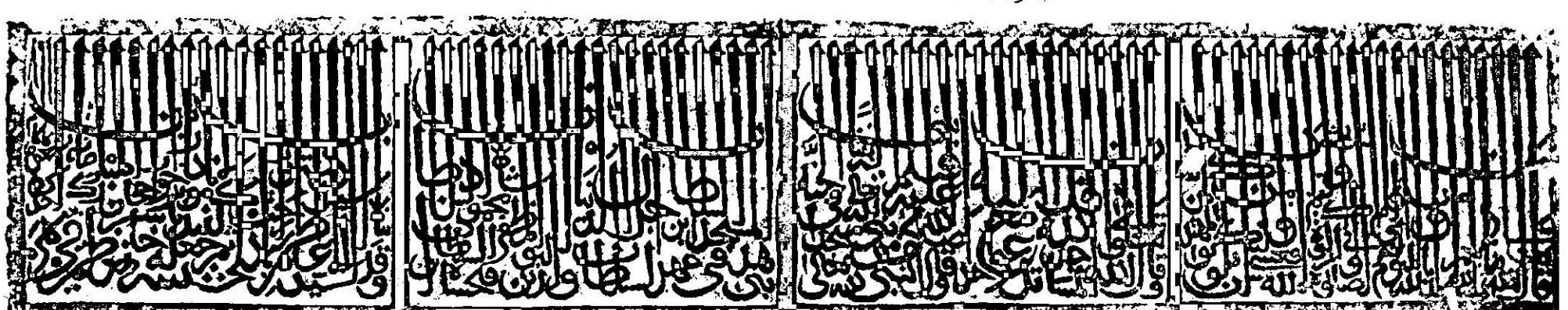
[1] See facsimile No. 1.

[2] The same form occurs, *e.g.*, in the inscriptions, *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XLI, p. 109, *Proceedings* for March 1874, p. 72.

NO. 1. BHAGALPUR INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 850.



NO. 2. MAHDIPUR INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 891.



From J. D. Beglar's impressions *Scale: 1-5th of original.*

pûr; the name of the saint buried there is not known. The basalt slab measures 27 by 16 inches, the inscribed part 20 by 13 inches; it contains four lines.—

لا اله الا الله محمّد رسول الله

ابوبكر صديق رضي الله عليه | عمر فاروق رضي الله عليه | عثمان رضي الله عليه | علي كرّم الله وجهه

جون اضعف عباد الله خواجه احمد سمرقندي حسب الحكم نواب قدسي القاب شاهزادهٔ عالميان شاه پرويز جهانگير بخدمت فوجداري سركار منگير آمده بود به بناى عمارت اين روضهٔ منوّره توفيق يافت سنه ۱۰۳۲ هزار سي و دو

TRANSLATION.

'There is no god but God and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God.

Abû Bakr, the veracious—may God be pleased with him! 'Omar, the distinguisher between right and wrong—may God be pleased with him! 'Osmân—may God be pleased with him! 'Alî—may God dignify his face![3].

When the humblest of the slaves of God, Khwâja Aḥmad of Samarqand, according to the order of the Nawâb, bearing holy titles, the prince of the people of the world, Shâh Parwêz, son of Jahângîr, had entered the service as Faujdâr of Sarkâr Mungir, he found grace to build this splendid tomb in the year 1032 H. [began the 5th November 1622].'

Shâh Parwêz was the second son of the emperor Shâh Jahângîr. He died of *delirium tremens* on the 6th Ṣafar 1035 (7th November 1625). In the year 1032 H. he gave Bengal[4] in *jâgîr* to Mahâbat Khân, after having defeated in battle Shâh Jahân (*Iqbâlnâma-î Jahângîrî*, p. 239), whereas Bihâr, to which sarkâr Mungir belonged (*Âîn-î-Akbarî*, vol. I, p. 419), remained his own *tiyûl*.

In the *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. XV, p. 63, is a long account of the town of Mungir, compiled by Blochmann.

3. This inscription was found near Cleveland's public garden; the rectangular black basalt stone on which it is engraved measures about 36 by 13 inches, the inscription covers 16 by 10 inches.

از بسي افسوس بملك بقا
رخت سفر بست زفاني سراى
از سر اندوه بگو سال فوت
روح مجسّم زجهان رفت واى

Metre,—*Sarî'*:

With much sorrow he tied up the dress of journey from the perishable house towards the country of eternity. From the head of (*the word*) grief say the year of the death, "The soul clothed with a body went from the world, alas!"

The last line gives, according to *abjad* reckoning, 1129. As the poet seems to mean that the head of *andûh*, *i.e.* the letter *alif*, is to be added to the *târîkh*, we get 1129+1=1130 H. [which began the 5th December 1717].

[3] The four caliphs.

[4] In Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. VI, p. 417, l. 4, *for* Bihâr *read* Bengal.

The person referred to is not named.

4. The following inscription is from the same place as No. 3; the engraved area on the pillar is 12 by 5 inches.

از ضیاء ملک این تالاب خوش تحفیر یافت بر لبش این دیر هم از سعي او تعمیر یافت
خواستم تاریخ هجر (؟) عسوي (*sic.*) سازم بیان تا بود بر لوح سنگ از سال تعمیرش نشان
ناگهان هاتف زروی شادماني لفظ بود بعد لفظ دیده اندر مصرع هشتم فزود
گهان در گوش خاطر زد سروشي بس عجب دیده کم اندر جهان آدم چنین جای غریب

TRANSLATION.

Metre,—*Ramal:*

By (order of) Ziyâ-i-Mulk this fair tank has been dug, on the bank of it this place of worship has also been erected by his exertion. I wanted to render manifest the date of the Christian era, so that there may exist a sign of the year of its erection on the face of the stone. Suddenly an invisible speaker by way of pleasure increased the word '*Bûd*' after the word '*Dîdah*' in the eighth hemistich; then in the ear of the mind he uttered a mysterious sound, indeed, strange: "Man has scarcely seen in the world such a rare place."

The letters of the *târîkh* which runs therefore '*Dîdah bûd kam*' etc., give 1793 A.D.—the last hemistich=1781 + 12 (*bûd*)—*i.e.*—1208-9H.

Ziyâ-i-Mulk must have been the title of some English officer whose European name I am not able to make out here.

On a hill to the west of Bhâgalpûr Station is a Muhammadan shrine, the tomb of Shâhjangî (Shâhbâz), to which belongs a tank. That tank which had gone out of use was cleaned and fitted with stone steps by order of Mr. Edward Latore, Magistrate, Zila' Bhâgalpûr, in 1843 A.D., corresponding with 1250 Faslî. As a memorial of that fact a Hindûstânî inscription has been engraved in a circle on the side wall of the ghât, and the names of the personages who furthered the work with money have been inscribed in the margin. The total sum amounts to R2,677, if I have added rightly.[5]

II.—HAZRAT PAṆḌUAH.

The following inscriptions from Paṇḍuah belong to the *Âdîna* (*i.e.* Friday) Mosque of which large ruins still remain. These have been described at length by the late J. H. Ravenshaw in his *Gaur, its Ruins and Inscriptions*, pp. 60 ff., where also a ground plan of the masjid is given.

The mosque was built by Abu'l Mujâhid Sikandar Shâh, son of Shams-addîn Abu'l Muzaffar Ilyâs Shâh, king of Bengal, who adorned his capital Paṇḍuah with that magnificent edifice. Except one, the inscriptions inside and outside the mosque are of no historical value, containing only verses from the *Qorân*. The rubbings transmitted to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Cunningham and Mr. W. L. Heeley are very fine and worthy of the beautiful penmanship which can hardly be surpassed in other Indian Muhammadan inscriptions.

[5] There is another rubbing of a Hindûstâni inscription of the month of August of 1845 which has been engraved on a large basalt pillar near the public garden on the bank of a tank opposite Cleveland's house, but the inscription seems to be much defaced, so that it is not possible to decipher it from the rubbing. It relates also to a *tâlâv* and a *sardâ ṭayyâr*.

5. On the outer wall of the central nave near the doorway, which is very small in proportion to the size of the edifice, the inscription has been cut, which mentions the builder of the mosque and the year of its erection. The size of the stone is 58 by 11 inches, that of the inscribed part is 57 by 9 inches; it runs—

امر ببناء العمارة هذا المسجد الجامع في ايا[م] الدولة السلطان الاعظم اعلم اعدل اكرم اكمل السلاطين العرب والعجم الواثق بتاييد الرحمن ابوالمجاهد سكندر شاه سلطان بن الياس شاه السلطان خلد خلافته الى يوم الموعود كتبه في التاريخ رجب سنة ست [و] سبعين وسبعماية

TRANSLATION.

'The edifice of this Jâmi' Masjid was ordered to be built during the days of the reign of the great king, the wisest, the justest, the most liberal, the most perfect of the kings of Arabia and Persia, who trusts in the assistance of the Merciful, Abu'l Mujâhid Sikandar Shâh, the king, son of Ilyâs Shâh, the king—May his reign be perpetuated till the day of promise! He wrote it during Rajab of the year 776 (began the 6th December 1374).'

There are some mistakes in Blochmann's readings of this inscription (*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XLII, p. 257, and repeated in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, p. 62). Regarding the accuracy of my conjecture that the eighth word is to be read *ayyâm*, there can hardly be any doubt. The statement of the date at the end of the inscription is quite ungrammatical, if, with Blochmann, we read *rajab sitt*; besides, the succession of the words should be *sitt rajab*. Grammatical mistakes are very numerous in Bengal inscriptions, but the construction *rajab sitt* instead of *sâdis* would be too faulty even for them. I therefore prefer to supply a *va* (*and*) before *sab'ín* or to read the *va* standing before *sab'miat* twice, a case that occurs not at all unfrequently.

We do not know the year in which the Âdîna mosque was finished; the *Riyâs* mentions only that the beginning fell in the year 766 H. It is very probable that the building required a space of ten years, *e.g.* the Jâmi' Masjid at Kotila in Eastern Rajputana was erected within eight years, and ten are therefore not too much to allow for the erection of that 'gigantic barn,' as General Cunningham calls the Âdîna mosque (*Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XV, p. 90).[6]

6. Over the doorway of the king's platform (Ravenshaw calls it *Bâdshâh ka takht*) we find the words of the *Kalima*. The size of the inscription is 8 by 7 inches.

Over the central prayer niche (*mihrâb*) are inscribed on two stones the verses of *Qorán*, Sûr. xxxiii, 56, and Sûr. xxii, 76, the latter being quoted with the omission of some words in Major W. Francklin's *Journal of a Route from Rájmahál to Gaur, A. D. 1810*, see Ravenshaw, p. 64.

Round the three other prayer niches are also engraved passages from the *Qorán*, on the northern, the combined verses[7] Sûr. ii, 63, iii, 31, ii, 121 and Sûr. ix, 20, 21.

[6] I see, however, that nothing can be too faulty for the Indian Muhammadan inscriptions, for I have found once again at least the above construction, with the number *sitt* (inscr. of the *rauza* of Muhammad Sharîf of Balkh in Dihlî,—*Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.*, for 1875, p. 212.

[7] The exordial phrase is— قال الله تعالى عن قائل رجل من متكلم ("God has said, who is raised above another speaker and more glorious than another orator)".

Round the middle prayer niche runs Sûr. xlviii, 27 28, 29 (size: 153 inches by 12 inches, the measure of the whole stone is 160 by 15 inches); round the southern (Ravenshaw, photograph, plate xliv) Sûr. ii, 256, 257 has been inscribed. The intervals between the single letters and words are always copiously ornamented with flower arabesques.

The inscription over the prayer niche in the transept (Ravenshaw, photograph plate xli) has been mentioned by Blochmann in the *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, vol. XLII, p. 256. A facsimile is given in Ravenshaw's work, plate xlv; it contains *Qorân*, Sûr. ix 18, 19. The top line is in Kufik, a character of writing the artist was evidently not very conversant with, and contains the *Fâtiḥa*.

A stone (20 by 14 inches) once fixed in the wall of the nave, now lost, bore round a square which contains arabesques and the name of Muḥammad twice, besides the *Kalima*, the text of Sûra cxii.

III.—Gaur.

For the city of Gaur, the reader may be referred to Ravenshaw's work already cited, the photographs of which give a picture of the former grandeur and magnificence of the town. It also gives a historical sketch of Gaur from the Muhammadan conquest to the end of its independence (pp. 95ff). Some of the following inscriptions have been already published either in this work or by Blochmann.

7. Over the entrance to the court of the Qadam-Rasûl mosque (Ravenshaw, photograph, plate 13, and facsimile, plate 48, No. 6) is an inscription, 2′ 1″ by 1′ 2″ in two lines—

قال النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله تعالى له سبعين قصرا فى الجنة بنى هذ المسجد
فى عهد السلطان ابن السلطان بن السلطان شمس الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر
يوسف شاه السلطان ابن باربكشاه السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان بنى هذ المسجد خان اعظم و خاقانمعظم
مرجاه خان اتابك ذات اعلي بتاريخ [8]هردهم ماه مبارک رمضان سنه خمس و ثمانين و ثمانمايه

Translation.

'The Prophet (on whom be peace!) has said; 'He who builds a mosque for God, will have seventy castles built for him by God in Paradise.' This mosque was built in the time of the king, the son of a king, who was the son of a king,[9] Shamsaddunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Yûsuf Shâh, the king, son of Bârbak Shâh, the king, son of Maḥmûd Shâh, the king. This mosque was built by the great Khân, the exalted Khâqân Marjâd Khân, the *atabeg* of the high person. On the 13th day of the blessed month Ramazân 885 (*17th November 1480*).'

In Ravenshaw's book the mistakes of Mr. Blochmann are reproduced. Blochmann has also published three other inscriptions of Yûsuf Shâh, of the years 882 (*Journal As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XLII, p. 275), 884 (*ib.* p. 276), and 885 (*ib.* vol. XLIV, p. 293); they are from Panduah or the neighbourhood of Dhâka. The information about Yûsuf Shâh which the histories furnish is very meagre.

[8] *i.e.* هژدهم.

[9] This reiteration occurs also on coins.

8. Over the central door of the small golden mosque in Gaur (Ravenshaw, plate xxii) is an inscription. One corner of the stone which contained the date has been broken away in three lines (dimensions 9 feet by 1′ 8″)—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تعالي انما يعمر مساجد الله من امن بالله واليوم الاخر واقام الصلوة
واتى الزكوة ولم يخش الا الله فعسي اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين وقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني
مسجدا لله بني الله له بيتا في الجنة مثله وعمارة هذا المسجد الجامع

فى عهد سلطان السلاطين سيد السادات منبع السعادت ارحم المسلمين والمسلمات معلى كلمات الحق
والحسنات المويد بتاييد الديان المجاهد فى سبيل الرحمن خليفة الله بالحجة والبرهان غوث الاسلام والمسلمين
علاء الدنيا والدين

ابوالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان الحسينى خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه بني هذا المسجد الجامع خالصا مخلصا
متوكلا على الله الولي محمد بن علي المخاطب بخطاب مجلس المجالس مجلس منصور نصره الله تعالي
فى الدنيا والاخرة وتاريخه الميمون في الرابع عشر من شهر الله المبارك رجب رجب قدره سنه [ه ... ...

TRANSLATION.

'In the name, etc. God Almighty has said: "He only shall repair," etc. (*Qorân*, Sûr. ix, 18). And the Prophet (may God's blessing rest upon him!) has said "He who builds," etc.

The erection of this Jâmi' masjid took place in the time of the king of kings, the Sayyid of the Sayyids, the fountain of auspiciousness, the most merciful of the faithful men and women, who exalts the words of truth and good deeds, who is assisted by the assistance of the Supreme Judge, who strives on the road of the merciful, the viceregent of God, with proof and testimony, the defender of Islâm and the Muslims, 'Alâ addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh, the king, the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! This Jâmi' masjid was built, from pure and sincere motives, and from trust in God, by the Walî Muḥammad, son of 'Alî, who has the title of *majlis al majâlis majlis-i manṣûr*—may God render him victorious in this world and the next! Its auspicious date is the 14th of God's blessed month of Rajab—may its value increase! of the year . . . . . .'

Husain Shâh reigned from 899 till 929 A. H., we possess many inscriptions of his reign. I have noted *29*. This one has been published in Ravenshaw's work, p. 38.

9. From Shâh N'imat Allâh's *âsitâna* near the Jâmi' masjid in the Fîrôzpûr suburb of Gaur. Two lines (dimensions 3 feet by 1′ 4″)—

بنى هذا الباب الحصن في عهد السلطان المعظم المكرم علاء الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر حسين شاه
السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه في سنه ثمان عشر وتسعماية

TRANSLATION.

'This gate of the fort was built in the time of the exalted and liberal king, 'Alâ-addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf,

the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! In the year 918 (*began the 19th March 1512*).[10]

10. At the same place two other inscriptions have been found containing only passages from the *Qorán*. Both are richly ornamented with varied patterns of flowers and arabesques. The first measures 6′ 5″ by 9 in.; on four lines, *Qorán*, Sûr. vi, 59; viii, 19; xxxv, 2; xlviii, 1, 2, 3, *etc.*, and in three circles the words *Yá raḥmán, yá Allâh, yá raḥîm* are inscribed; the second measures 2′ 4″ by 8 in., and contains *Qorán*, Sûr. lxii, 9, 10, 11.

11. Over the centre arch of the Qadam-Rasûl masjid outside, in three lines (dimensions 2′ 3″ by 1′ 6″.)—

قال الله تعالي من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر امثالها بنى هذه الصفه المطهره التى فيها حجر [11]فيه اثر قدم رسول
صلى الله عليه و سلم السلطان

المعظم المكرم السلطان بن السلطان ناصرالدّنيا والدين ابوالمظفر نصرتشاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان
بن سيد اشرف الحسينى خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه واعلي امره و شانه في سنه سبع و ثلثين و تسعماية

TRANSLATION.

'God Almighty has said: "He who brings a good work shall have ten like it" (*Qorán*, Sûr. vi, 161). This pure dais on which is a stone with the foot-print of the Prophet—may God's blessing be upon him!—was erected by the great, generous king, the king, the son of a king, Nâṣiraddunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Nuṣrat Shâh, the king, son of Husain Shâh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf, the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and his dignity! In the year 937 (*began the 25th August 1530*).'

Mr. Blochmann has remarked that these inscriptions rectify the *Riyáz* and Stewart, who give as the date of the completion of the *Qadam-Rasúl* mosque A.H. 939.

12. From Shâh Ni'mat Allâh's *ásitána*, not *in situ*, in one line (dimensions 2′ 1″ by 7 in.)—

قال الله تعالي انّ المساجد لله باني هذا الباب خانجهان في التاريخ غرة من ذوالحجه سنه سبعين و تسعماية

TRANSLATION.

'God Almighty has said "surely the mosques belong to God" (*Qorán*, Sûr. lxxii, 18). The builder of this gateway is Khânjahân. In the beginning of Zu'l Hijja, 970' (*22nd July 1563*).[12]

The inscription falls in the reign of Ghiyâs addîn Abu'l Muzaffar Jalâl Shâh of Bengal, *14* years before the conquest of Bengal by Akbar. Khânjahân was in 982 governor of Orîsâ (*Akbarnâma*, vol. I, p. 161 var.); he was therefore the successor of Lôdî Khân, *amîr al umará* of Sulaimân, king of Bengal, who was put to death by his sovereign the year before (*Badauní*, vol. II, p. 174). In the Moghul empire the title of Khânjahân was the next to that of Khânkhânan (*Ma'ásir*, I, 649).

[10] This was published in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 295, and repeated in Ravenshaw's Gaur, p. 88, No. 19.
[11] There is no reason for Blochmann's *sic*, who has read faultily.
[12] Published in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, p. 36. The number *tis'* is not legible on my rubbing.

13. From the Jâmi' masjid in the Fîrôzpûr suburb, evidently a fragmentary inscription (size 1′ 4″ by 2 in.), which contains *Qorân*, Sûr. lxii, 5 (it begins in the middle of the verse with the words [*kamis*]*li'l ḥimâri*).

IV.—MAHDÎPÛR (VILLAGE).[13]

14. The following inscription is now fixed in the modern mosque at Mahdîpûr, it is arranged in four squares and measures 4′ 4″ by 10 in.—

قال الله تعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من امن بالله و اليوم الاخر واقام الصلوة واتى الزكوة ولم يخش الا الله

فعسى اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين

وقال الله تعالى وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى

مسجدا لله تعالى بنى الله تعالى له بيتا فى الجنة

بني هذا المسجد فى عهد السلطان ابن السلطان جلال الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر فتحشاه السلطان ابن

محمود شاه السلطان

وقد بنا السيد الاعظم سيد دستور بن سيد راحت بالحسنة ثمر جعله سر كنبد مولانا برخوردار ابن خانمعظم

ناسر خان فى شهر المبارك رمضان سنه احدى و تسعين و ثمانمائه

TRANSLATION.

'God Almighty has said "He only shall repair," *etc.* (*Qorân* Sûr ix, 18).

God Almighty has also said "verily, the mosques," *etc.* (*Qorân*, Sûr. lxxii, 18). The Prophet—on whom may rest God's blessing!—has said "He who builds a mosque," *etc.*

This mosque was built in the time of the king, son of a king, Jalâl addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Path Shâh, the king, son of Mahmûd Shâh, the king. Its builder was the exalted Sayyid, Sayyid Dastûr, son of Sayyid Râhat—through good deeds he has collected fruits for himself—at the head of the vault of Maulânâ Barkhurdâr, son of the exalted Khân Tâj Khân. In the blessed month of Ramazân of the year 891 (*began the 31st August 1486*).

The letters being very closely written it is not easy to decipher the names. This is the sixth inscription of Fath Shâh, who reigned from 886 till 893; the others fall in the years 886 from Bandar near Dhâkâ, (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 282), 887 from Dhâmrâi, north of Dhâkâ, (*ib.*, vol. XLI, p. 109); 888 from Bikrampûr, Dhâkâ District (*ib.*, vol. XLII, p. 284), 889 from Sunârgâon, (*ib.*, vol. XLII, p. 285), and 892 from Sâtgânw, (*ib.*, vol. XXXIX, p. 293).

15. The following inscription of the same king has lost the date; it is from the Challa masjid (size 5′ 7″ by 4 in.), one line—

جلال الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر فتحشاه سلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه واعلى امره

وشانه بسعي خان الاعظم و خاقان المعظم الواثق بالملك المنان خانمعظم دولتخان وزير لشكر تقبل الله منه

في سنه اربع ... ...

[13] See facsimile No. 2.

TRANSLATION.

'Jalâl addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Fatḥ Shâh, the king, son of Maḥmûd Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and his rule! Through the exertion of the exalted Khân and the high Khâqân, who trusts upon the beneficient Lord, the exalted Khân Daulat Khân, the wazîr of the army—may God accept from him (*his prayers*)![14] In the year . . . . . .'

16. From the modern mosque, as No. 14. One line (size 1′ 5″ by 7 in.), a fragment—

الدّنيا والدّين ابوالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان بنى هذا المسجد ملك يزيد معظم ظفر خان بن ملك ...

... سر نوبت ... ... در شهر ربيع الاخر [؟] فى التاريخ سنه ... ...

TRANSLATION.

['Alâ-]addunyâ waddîn' Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh. This mosque was built by Malik Yazîd Mu'azzam Zafar Khân, son of Malik . . . . . head of the guardians . . . . . in the month of Rabî' al âkhir, in the year . . . . . .'

As the upper part of the left side is broken away, it is not possible to read correctly the name of the builder. Nothing is known about the original place of the stone which bears the inscription.

V.—KHANDKARTOLA (SHÊRPÛR).

17. In the jungal in the midst of the deserted village of Khandkartola, about two miles south of the Shêrpûr municipality, are the ruins of the Khema masjid. Two slabs of equal size (4′ 7″ by 2′ 4″ by 3″) bear the inscriptions, the middle portions of the stone being carved in a vase pattern in one and in a square in the other. The right slab is cracked in two or three places; the cracks seem to be very old. As Mr. H. Lee has remarked on the inscription form, these slabs were Hindu gods originally, but the gods have been turned round and the inscriptions cut on their backs. The holes were probably made to destroy the sanctity of the gods. About 500 yards distant are the remains of the Bâdishâhî masjid; both are in bad repair and will soon go to ruins.

The inscription on the left side runs—

یا مطهر العجائب

مانده روز دوشنبه ۲۴ ماه ذوالحج سنه ۹۸۹

یا سعاد دواب مرزا مراد خان مسجد اعار کرد دوم روز

سه شنبه ۲۶ شهر خال فرار مسجد مبادد فقیر عبد الصمد در کنویر

شتروام ازهوا فرود امدند و سلام کردند و بعد از مبارکبادی عرض

کردند که از مکه مبارکه نام رس رفاه داردم برای ما و اصحاب ما درین

مسجد اشانه حکم خواهند فرمود فقیر گفت خدا به امنا مسجد

نورد مبادا از مردم زمانه خیر خدا ترسد کعبند هرکه دیده

[14] In the Qorân, *qabala* occurs in the same manner without the addition of an object.

و دانسته خواهد رساند درو خواهد رسید زیاده ازین
از واهب العطایات معلوم کردد العرض سلام
کردند و در هوا سدند حدوان عدیر با طهر اعتماد
بعد از اتمام مسجد اهتمام عرض که به تجاره کدوبر
... ...

این جوهر تلخان قاقسال

مراد حال

این مسجد بنا کرد علیشان رفیع

TRANSLATION.

'O (*Thou*) who manifestest spiritual wonders! On Monday, the 24th of month Zu'l Hijja A. 989, (*19th January 1582*), the Nawâb Mîrzâ Murâd Khân with sacred observances made the beginning of this mosque. The second day—, on Tuesday the 26th (*sic.*), the *faqîr*' Abdaṣṣamad comes for the sake of the mosque. Two milk-white pigeons came down from the air and saluted him, and after the benediction[15] they said 'we are from the blessed Makka; will you command for us and our friends a place of rest in this mosque?' The *faqîr* said, 'Why not? But the mosque . . . . . lest oppression . . . should come from the men of the world.' They said 'every one who purposely—brings it on him it will come. More than that will be known from the bestower of bounties.' They saluted and disappeared in the air . . . . . After the completion of the mosque the petition which the pigeons . . . .

This mosque has been built by the noble exalted Murâd Khân, son of Jauhar 'Alî Khân Qâqshâl.'

Murâd Qâqshâl in 988 became commander of 1,000 and received the title of Khân (*Akbarnâma*, vol. III, pp. 304, 305). In 991 he fought against Ma'ṣûm Khân Kâbulî (p. 417).

It is well known that the mosque at Makka abounds in flocks of wild pigeons which are considered as inviolable and are called *kabûtar* (*ḥamâm*)-*î ḥaram*, 'pigeons of the sacred boundary.' Such were those Makka pigeons which begged an asylum in Murâd Khân's mosque. Besides the impossibility of uniting the numbers 24 and 26 to each other without altering, a chronological difficulty seems to occur in this inscription. The 24th Zu'l Hijja A.H. 989 namely was not Monday but a Friday, and the 26th of the same month was not Tuesday, but a Sunday. I cannot make out these contradictions. In A.H. 988 the 24th Zu'l Hijja fell on a Monday, but the number 989 is quite clear on the rubbing.

[15] This form is not so rare as Rückert indicates, *Grammatik, Poetik and Rhetorik der Perser*, 2nd edition, by Pertsch, p. 249, note 1. Confer also '*himuhâwabhâd ishtiqbâldâsht*'—*Ma'âsir al Umarâ* vol. I, p. 121.

The inscription on the right side seems to be of no historical value, and as I could not decipher the whole from the rubbing, I have omitted it.

18. From the Bâdishâhî masjid, 18 lines (size 2′ 3″ by 1′ 5″.)—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و ... ... بالخير
قال صدر جهان بن ميان جيو بن يازيد بن داود
بنى مسجدا في بلد شيرپور بمتاع التوكل على الله الغفور
بحين شاه جهان جهانكير مشهور سنه الف واثنى و اربعون بالشكور
قال الله تعالى و من يتوكل على الله بني مسجد في دور شاه جهان
فهو حسبه ان الله بالغ امره و سوبه (*sic*) بنكاله معظم خان
قد جعل الله لكل شى قدرا
قال النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى سنه الف و اثنى و اربعون
مسجدا فى الدنيا بنى له الله تعالى سبعين
قصرا فى الاخرة سنه الف و اثنى و اربعين الله كافى فى كل مسلمين

TRANSLATION.

'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! . . . . . .

Ṣadr Jahân, son of Miyân Jayû, son of Yâzîd, son of Dâûd, says—

The mosque in the town of Shêrpûr has been built through the benefit of confidence in the forgiving God in the time of Shâhjahân, the famous conqueror of the world, in the year 1042 (*began the 19th July 1632*). God Almighty has said "And whosoever relies on God," *etc.* (*Qorân*, Sûr. lxv, 3, 4). The Prophet (on whom may rest God's blessing!) has said "He who builds a mosque in the world," *etc.* A. 1042.

This mosque has been built in the age of Shâhjahân in the *Ṣûba* of Bengal by Mu'azzam Khân in the year 1042. Allâh is a sufficiency for all the faithful.'

Ṣadr Jahân's poetry is not of the best. He was not Chief Ṣadr (*Sadr-i Jahân*) as Ṣadr Jahân was who filled that office under Akbar and under Jahângîr and whose name coincided with the title of his dignity. If we may be allowed to judge of his poetical abilities from the verses of the above inscription—which to be sure are not worse than thousands of others—it is to be hoped that he imitated the example of his name-sake above mentioned who also composed poems at first, but later gave up petry (*ma'âsir al Umarâ*, vol. III, pp. 350, 351).

Mu'azzam Khân or, as his name properly was, 'Azam Khân Mîr Muḥammad Bâqir Irâdat Khân became Governor of Bengal after Qâsim Khân in 1041. In the *Riyâz* (pp. 207, 208) it is related that he could not keep the province in order as it ought to be. The inhabitants of Assam (*Âshâm*), neighbours of Bengal, plundered the frontiers unpunished (cf. also *Munt. allubâb*, vol. II, p. 132); they defeated 'Abd al Islâm with a great army of infantry and thousands of horse and made him prisoner with a large booty. After that, A.H. 1044, 'Azam Khân was dismissed and his post bestowed upon Islâm Khân, who undertook successful campaigns against the Râja of Assam. 'Azam Khân was appointed Governor of Allâhâbâd. Shêrpûr which is mentioned in the last inscription

is the so-called Shêrpûr Mûrcha (in Elliot-Dowson: Shêrpûr Mîraja). The *Aîn-i Akbarî*, vol. I, p. 405, identifies it with Mihmânshâhî, stating its revenues at 2,207,715 *dâms*. Its fort Salîmnagar was built by Râja Mân Singh, Governor of Bengal, in the 40th year of Akbar's reign *Akbarnâma*, vol. III, p. 697; it was so named in honour of Prince Salîm, afterwards the emperor Jahângîr. Shêrpûr was always an important place and a base of operations for the imperial troops.

VI.—Bihâr.

The following six Bihâr inscriptions belong to four different portions of the history of that province. If we follow Blochmann's division (*Journal of As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 245), the two first inscriptions fall into the 'Initial period,' or the reigns of the Governors of Lak'hnautî appointed by the Dihlî sovereigns, from the conquest of Bengal by Muḥammad Bakhtyâr Khiljî, *viz.*, from A. H. 600 to 739, when Fakhr addîn Abu'l Muzaffar Mubârak Shâh, armour-bearer to Bahrâm Khân, the Dihlî Governor of Sunârgâoṇ, on his master's death, proclaimed himself ruler and established an independent dynasty in Bengal. But Bihâr was detached from Bengal and remained to the Dihlî empire till the foundation of the Jaunpûr kingdom, A. H. 796. This is the second period of the history of Bihâr. The third under the Sharqî rulers lasted till 881, when Jaunpûr again became subject to Dihlî. To this fourth period belongs one inscription (No. 22) while Nos. 21 and 24 are of the second, and No. 23 of the third period. Inscription Nos. 19, 20, 21, and 23 have been published by Blochmann.

19. On a fine slab of basalt leaning against the wall of the Choṭâ Dargâh, measuring 3 feet by 8 in.; it contains two lines—

بنى هذ المسجد فى دولة السّلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابى المظفر فيروز شاه السّلطان وايام امارة
خاقان الزمان المخاطب بخانخان

ادام الله ظلالهما العبد الواثق بالله ولكرمه الراجى اصغر الخلائق بهرام بن هاجي تاب الله عليه وغفر
لوالديه فى العشر من رجب سنة خمس و عشرة سبعمائة

Translation.

'This mosque was built in the reign of the great Sulṭân Shams addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Fîrôz Shâh, the king, and during the governorship of the Khâqân of the age, known as Hâtim Khân—may God cause their shadows to last!—by the slave, who trusts in God and hopes for His mercy, the meanest of creatures, Bahrâm, son of Hâjî—may God forgive him and may He pardon his parents!—In the beginning of the month of Rajab of the year 715' (*1st October 1315*).'

Hâtim Khân was a son of Fîrôz Shâh, as we see from the inscription published by Blochmann (*ut sup.*). He must have been governor of Bihâr during the years 709—715.

20. Over the gateway of the *Sukûnat* or residency of the Imperial governor in Bihâr, was a beautiful inscription[16] (now in the Bayley Sarai) of three lines, measuring 4 feet by 1′ 10″—.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

شد بتجديد عمارة اين دروازه عالى عالم‌آراى واين طاق رفيع فلك‌سائى

درايام خلافت خليفه جهاندار اسمان بارگاه خدايگان سلاطين

[16] See facsimile No. 3.

کیهان فرمان‌فرمای عالمیان ذی‌الامن والامان الاهل الایمان وارث ملك سلیمان ابوالمجاهد محمد بن
لعلقشاه السلطان خلد خلافته وسلطانه فی الغرة من الشهرالمبارک رمضا[ن سنه] اثنی و ثلثین وسبعمائه

TRANSLATION.

'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

This high and world-adorning gate, and this lofty, heaven-touching portico were renewed in the reign of the Khalîfa, the asylum of the world, whose court is the heaven, the lord of the kings of the universe, the ruler of mankind, who gives security and safety to the people of the Faith, the heir of the kingdom of Salomon, Abu'l Mujâhid Muḥammad, son of Tughluq Shâh, the king—May his kingdom and rule be perpetuated! In the beginning of the blessed month of Ramazân, 732' (*27th May, 1332*).

Muḥammad Shâh's inscriptions, which have been published up till now, are of the years 726 (*Proc. of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1873, p. 199), 732 (*Proceedings* for 1874, p. 72), and 737 (*Journal* of the *As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 299),—the last also being from Bihâr.

21. On the Dargâh of Ibrâhîm Abû Bakr Malik Bayyû's shrine, which lies on a hill to the north-west of the town, dimensions 5′ 1″ by 1′ 2″ two lines—

بعهد دولت شاه جهان‌گیر [17]کی بادا هر بهار ملك نوروز
شهنشاه جهان فیروز سلطان کي بر شاهان گیتی گشت فیروز
ملك سیرت ملك بیّو براهیم کی بد در دین جو ابراهیم کین توز
بماه ذی الحجه یکشنبه از دهر بدست چون سیزده از مهر درین سوز
بهجرت هفصد و پنجه سه تاریخ مسافر شد ملك در جنّت این روز
خداوندا بفضل خویش بر وی کني آسان حساب آخرین روز

TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Hazaj*—

'In the time of the reign of the world-conquering Shâh (may the power of the new-year's day be in Bihâr!), the king of the world, Fîrôz, the king who was victorious over the kings of the universe. The king of virtue Malik Bayyû Ibrâhîm, who in the faith was as zealous as Abraham, in the month of Zi'l Hijja, on a Sunday, of the time when thirteen sun-burnt (*days were passed*) (?), in the year 753 A. H. (*20th January 1353*), travelled on that day to Paradise. O Lord, in Thy kindness, make the account of the last day light for him!'

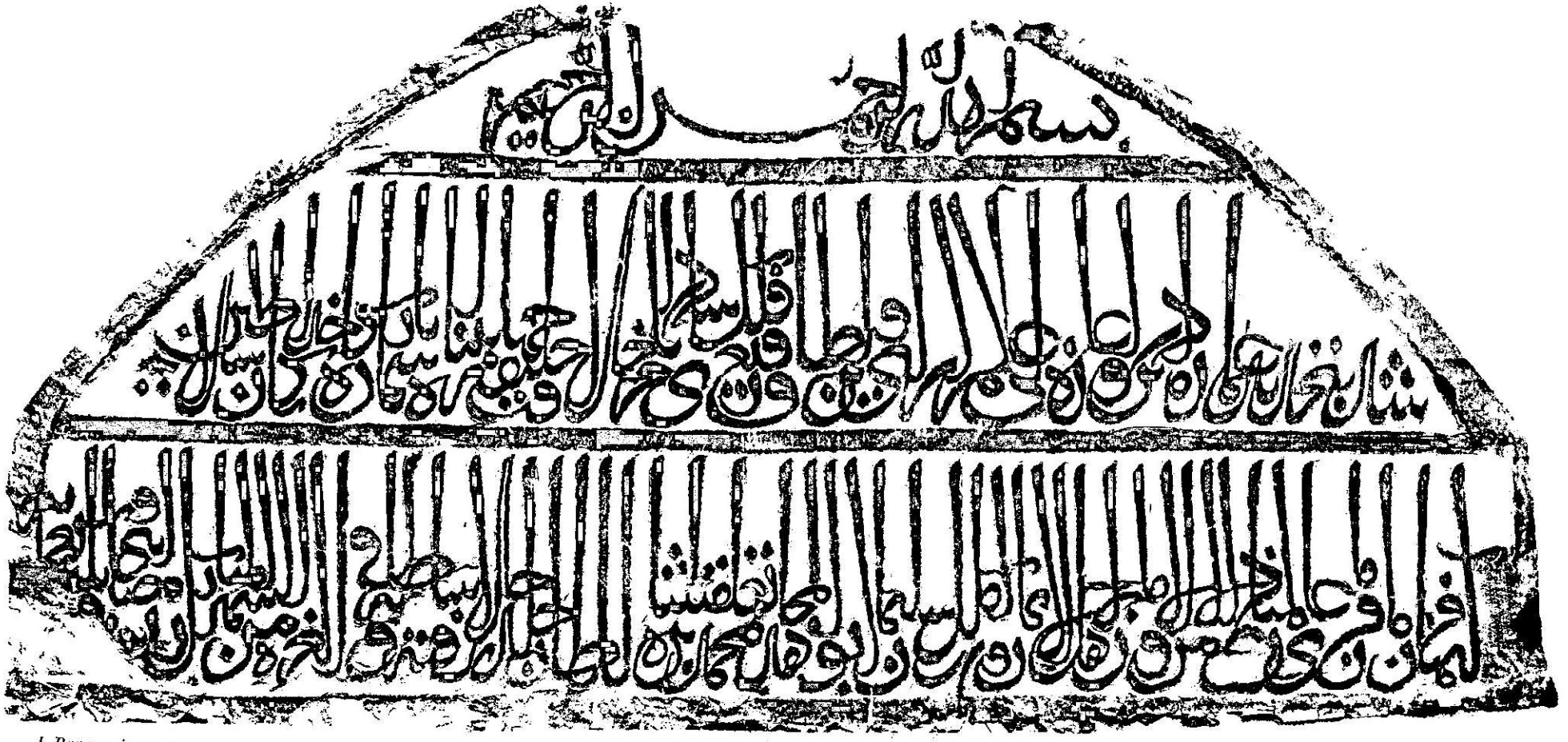
Respecting Malik Bayyû, who is, *par excellence*, the saint of Bihâr, see *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 300.

22. From the Bayley Sarâî at Bihâr. Two lines (size 1′ 5″ by 8 in.)—

بتاریخ یازدهم ماه رجب رجب قدره سنه ستون تسعمایة ناران شهید پسر حاجی اسحاق مرستجل [?]
درین مقام حفره ارباع و حوض بناء اینجا . . . . . برسد بروح حفه فاتحه کان اذا لنا[س] [?]

[17] This archaic spelling, instead of *kih*, occurs several times in the inscriptions.

No. 3. BIHAR INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 732.



J Burgess, impress.

Scale: 1-5th of original.

TRANSLATION.

'On the date of the 11th of month Rajab—may its honour increase!—of the year 960 (*the 23rd January 1553*) Nârân Shahîd, son of Hâjî Isḥâq . .

On this place . . . . . .[18]

23. From a mosque which stood opposite to the Choṭâ Takya on the other bank of the Adyânadî, in Bihâr. The mosque has disappeared; only a large square stone platform is left, where the slab was found. The inscription is in two parts, each measuring 3′ 5″ by 1′ 2″ and bearing two lines—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا لله بنا الله له بيتا فى الجنه

شد بتوفيق الهى واز طفيل مصطفى مسجد جمعه بعهد شاه دين پرور بنا

شاه محمود ابن ابراهيم شاه عادل ايك كشور از شاهان ستاند تاج بخشد بر گدا

بانى اين مسجد ان مسند شريعت هست كو ذات پاكش قرة العين نبى ومرتضا

سرور و صدر جهان ان سيد احمل كه شد ملك و ملت و دين و دولت را در او الجا

كرده فرمايش بناء خير ملك الشرف كان مقطع داود درين خطه نصير ابن بها

اين بنا شد استوار از طاق كسرى در بهار كعبه در عظمت رفعت بيت معمور علا

غرة ماه رجب بد هيصد و چهل و هفت سال كاندرين مسجد اقامت شد بتاييد خدا

TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Ramal*—

'In the name, *etc.* He upon whom be peace (*the Prophet*) says "He who builds *etc.*"

By divine grace and for the sake of Muṣṭafâ (*Muḥammad*), the Jum'a mosque was built in the reign of the faith-nourishing king Shâh Maḥmûd, son of Ibrâhîm, the just king who takes realms from kings, (*and*) gives beggars crowns. The builder of this mosque is the throne of law, who is pure in nature, the beloved of the Prophet and of Murtazâ (*'Alî*), the chief and the lord of the world, the perfect Sayyid, with whom realm and faith, religion and empire, take refuge. The *muqti'*, the David[19] in this district, Naṣîr, son of Bahâ, ordered this building (*to be erected*), the best in the Eastern kingdom (*Jaunpûr*). This building in Bihâr is stronger than the portico of Kisrâ; it is a Ka'ba in grandeur, and in loftiness the edifice of sublimity. It was in the beginning of Rajab, of the year 847[20] (*25th October 1443*), when, with the assistance of God, the (*first*) *iqâma* took place in this mosque.'

The metrical Bihâr inscriptions are all remarkable for their very bad poetry. This is the fourth known inscription of Maḥmûd Shâh of Jaunpûr, the others being dated in the years A. H. 847 (from Bihâr), 850 (above No. 1), and 859 (also from Bihâr, published by Blochmann).[21]

[18] I have not succeeded in making out the meaning of the second line.

[19] In this inscription the letters *re* and *dâl* often cannot be separated. Blochmann has read *dâwar*.

[20] The form *hîṣad*, instead of *hashtṣad*, is not at all, seldom in Indian inscriptions.

[21] The Maḥmûd Shâh inscription on a stone in the Hindu temple at Bediban is very dubious, *see* General Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XVI, p. 25, Plate iv.

24. Also from the Bayley Sarâî. Two lines (size 3 feet by 1′ 3″); the right side is partly broken—

. . . . . مدار وب ز خانزادهٔ سلعان . . . . .
افتخار اهل سیف وکار هحا اعتبار [?] . . . . . کردکار
دفتر ار تاریخ هجرت هفصد و تا سسب وهفت باز از ماه محرم فی شحر . . . . . شمار

TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Ramal*—

'. . . . . In the time of the Khânzâda . . . . . .
Who is the glory of the men of the world and an esteemed satirist (?) . . . . . .
The account of the Hijra-date is 767 (*began the 18th September 1365*); backwards from the month of Muḥarram reckon . . . . . .[22]

VII.—MUNÊR.

Munêr, Mâner or Munair, is a very old place on the right bank of the Son at its confluence with the Ganges. Elliot-Dowson erroneously confounds it sometimes with Mungir. Firishta ascribes its foundation to the mythical times of Fîrôz Râî, son of Kêshû Râj, a contemporary of the hero Rustam (*lithogr. ed.*, vol. I, p. 18, *muqaddima*). General Cunningham, in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. VIII, pp. 22, 23, offers a theory of his own about the establishment of Munêr immediately after the Muhammadan conquest. He supposes that the Son through some unknown cause at that time had abandoned its original bed and taken its present course, thus forming new waste lands which had no name before, not having been in existence. The town was almost half a *krôh* distant from the river. Bâbar in his *Memoirs* (p. 478) describes its situation in the following words: 'Down the stream from the place where I was I saw a large number of trees; they said to me that it was Munêr.'

In the *Âîn* (vol. I, p. 419) Munêr is registered with 89,039 *bighas*, 15 *biswas*, 7,049,179 *dâms*, (*say*) 325,380 *dâms*. Bâbar and Sikandar Shâh Lôdî are related to have made pilgrimages to the shrine of Shaikh Yahyâ, father of Shaikh Sharaf addîn (*Târîkh-î Dâûdî* in Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. IV, p. 462, Bâbar's *Memoirs*, p. 478), from whom the *pargana* occasionally is named *Munêr-î Shaikh Yahyâ*. Shaikh Sharaf addîn was also a renowned saint; in his honour his disciple Ibrâhîm Qiwâm Farûqî has called his dictionary *Sharafnâma* (*Journal of As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XXXVII, p. 7). Munêr now belongs to the district of Patna, subdivision Danâpûr.[23]

25. Two lines (dimensions 1′ 9″ by 8 in.)—

بحمد الله در عهد شه انجب شه محمود سلطان مهذب
بهین مسجد که بُد بانی ازل جلیل الحق زاقطاب متقرب
جو حمّاد خطیر او . . . . . عمارت کرد باز از سر مرتب
زهجرت هفصد و هشت و نود بود بعصمت دار بنیادش تو ای رب

[22] The first and the third hemistich have been almost ruined; besides the letters of the inscription are very rude, so that I could decipher it only fragmentarily.

[23] No information is given about the places where the following three Munêr inscriptions have been found.

TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Hazaj*—

'By God's grace (*it was*) in the time of the most noble king Maḥmûd, the sincere monarch, when this fine mosque, whose first builder was Jalîl al Haqq, one of the confidential chiefs, was rebuilt and newly adorned by Hammâd Khâṭîr.....

It was in 798 A. H. (*began the 16th October 1395*). Preserve its foundation in security, O God.'

This and the Maḥmûd Shâh inscription of A. H. 799 (*Journ. of As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XLII, p. 304), are valuable, because they show that Nuṣrat Khân, the opposing king, who was advanced as a claimant to the throne by Sa'âdat Khân A.H. 797, was not acknowledged in Bihâr. It is not easy to form a correct picture of the complicated conditions then existing in the empire. Khwâja-î Jahân (*Malik ashsharq Khwâja-î Sarâî*), the founder of the Jaunpûr kingdom, had got into his possession the provinces of Qanauj, Kaṛah, Audh, Sandêlâ, Dalamau, Bahrâîch, Bihâr, and Jaunpûr; the emperor Maḥmûd was confined for some years only to old Dihlî, the fortress of Sîrî, and the Jâhânpanâh, while the districts of the Doâb, of Sambhal, Pânîpat, Jhajhar and Rohtak were occupied by Nuṣrat Khân, *viz.*, Sulṭân Naṣîraddîn, who had his residence at Fîrôz-âbâd. Other provinces perpetually changed their masters, ambitious *amîrs* and *maliks*, who combatted each other angrily. The harvest was fully ripe for the bloody reaper Timûr.

26. Three lines (size 5′ 9″ by 1′ 4″)—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

وسيق الذين اتقوا ربهم الى الجنة زمرا حتى اذا جاؤها و فتحت ابوابها وقال لهم خزنتها سلام عليكم طبتم فادخلوها خالدين

كُنْتُ فِي فِكْرِ سَنِّ هذا البَاب كَانَ قَلْبِي بِحَوْلِهِ سَاكِنًا
قَالَ عَقْلِي عَلَى طَرِيقِ الأَمْرِ قُلْ مَنْ دَخَلَهُ كَانَ امِنًا
چون در روضهٔ مقدس شاه روی رفعت نهاد [بر اتمام]
سال انجامش از خرد جستم خردم بهر این خجسته مقام
بدعا لب کشودهٔ و کفتا در دولت کشا[ده باد دوام]

TRANSLATION.

'There is no God, *etc.* But those who fear their Lord, *etc.* (*Qorân*, Sûr. xxxix, 73).

Metre: *Ramal*—

I was thinking to make out the chronogram of this gate, my heart was quiet by His (*God's*) power. My mind said by way of command "say, who entered it was safe."

Metre: *Khafîf*—

When the gate of the holy sepulchre of the king raised its face towards completion, I asked the mind the year of its finishing. For this auspicious place the mind opened the lip of blessing, and said, "may the door of power remain open for ever."

Both *târîkhs* give the year 1022 (*began the 21st February 1613*).

27. Three lines (10′ 9″ by 1′ 3″.)—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمّد رسول الله اللهم صلى على محمّد و على ال محمّد و بارک

سلم اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له و اشهد ان محمّد عبده و رسوله قال الله تعالى ان

اوّل بيت وضع للناس للّذى ببكة مباركا وهدى للعالمين فيه ايات بيّنات مقام ابراهيم و من دخله كان

ومنا ولله على الناس حجّ البيت من استطاع اليه سبيلا و من كفر فانّ الله غنى عن العالمين

چو اين عالى سراى كعبه‌تمثال جهان‌ارا بفيض صانع قادر تمامى اقتضا كرده

دل عاصى همى جست از خرد سال بناى او خرد كفتا جو ابراهيم بيت الله بنا كرده

TRANSLATION.

'In the name, *etc.* There is no God, *etc.* O God, have mercy on Muḥammad and on the descendants of Muḥammad. I testify that there is no God, but God who is alone and has no partner. I testify also that Muḥammad is His slave and His Apostle. God Almighty has said, "Verily, the first house, *etc.*" (*Qorân*, Sûr. iii, 90-91).

(Metre: *Hazaj*)—

When this high, Ka'ba-like, world-adorning edifice, through the benevolence of the powerful Creator, was completely erected, the heart of 'Âṣî was consulting the mind for the year of its erection. The mind said, "just as Abraham has built the house of God."'

According to the *abjad* reckoning the *târîkh* gives 1028 A.H. (*began the 19th, December 1618*).

The *târîkh* betrays the name of the builder, *viz.* Ibrâhîm Khân Fatḥ Jang, son of Ghiyâs Beg of Tahrân. This combination relies upon the very similar *târîkh* in the '*Haft Qulzum*' (Rückert-Pertsch, p. 223): *banâ-yi Ka'ba-ya sânî nihâd Ibrâhîm*, 'the erection of the second Ka'ba has been made by Ibrâhîm,' where Ibrâhîm Khân Fatḥ Jang is expressly named as builder. He became governor of Bihâr A.H. 1024, and afterwards of Bengal A.H. 1028, and stayed there till 1032, when he was killed in the battle with Prince Shâhjahân. The *târîkh* of the *Haft Qulzum* gives the date 1040, but as Ibrâhîm Khân had already died in 1032, this date cannot be correct. Perhaps the *izâfat* after *banâ* should not be reckoned, so that the year would be 1030.

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